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THE
CLAIMS OF THE ROMAN SEE

TO
SUPREMACY,

DISPROVED
BY AN EXAMINATION OF THE TESTIMONY
OF CATHOLIC ANTIQUITY.

BY THE
REV. CH. EGBERT KENNET,

*Of Bishop's College, Calcutta.
Missionary, S. P. G., and Secretary, C. K. S., Madras.*

"Cur profers in medium quod Petrus et Paulus edere
noluerunt? Usque ad hunc diem sine ista doctrina
mundus Christianus fuit."

S. Hieronymus. [Opp. ii. 131.]

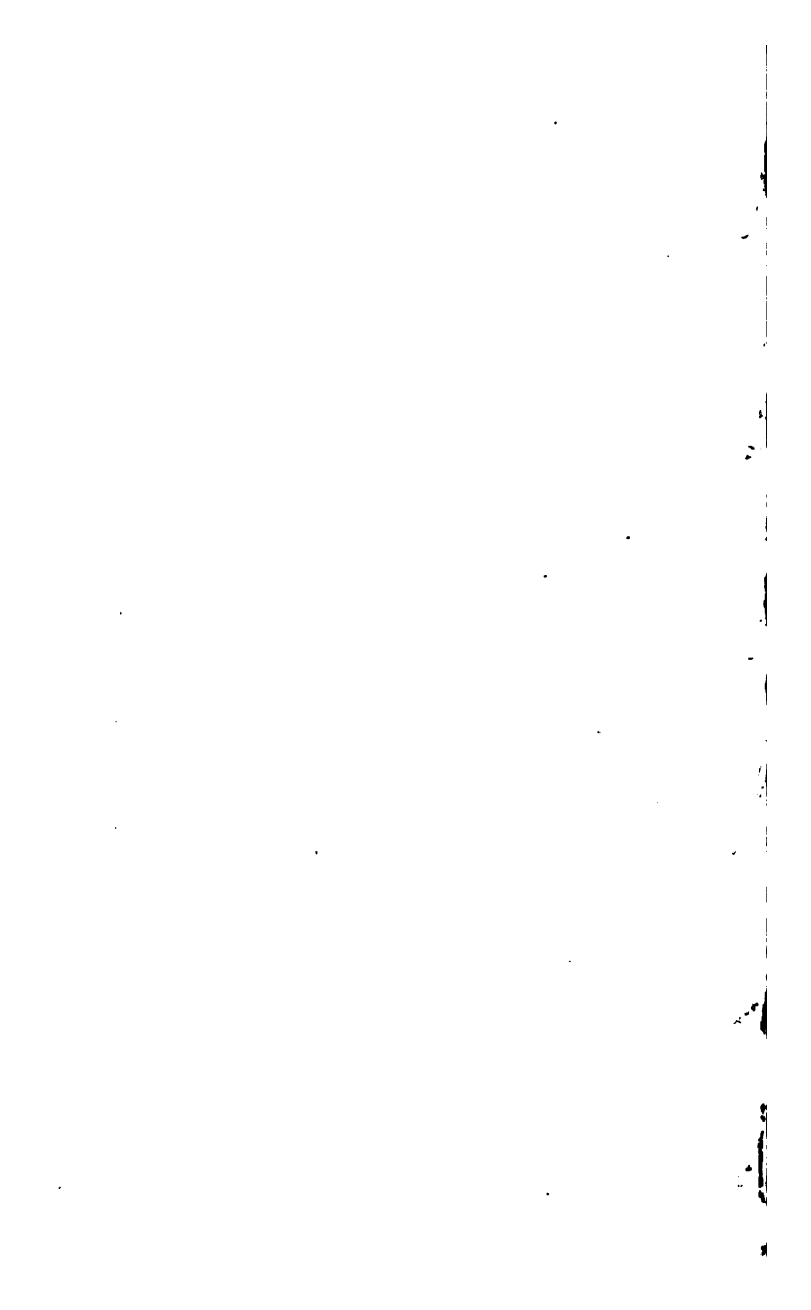
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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
EDWARD HAROLD,
Lord Bishop of Ely,
WHOSE MASTERLY INVESTIGATION OF THE QUESTION
DISCUSSED IN THESE PAPERS,
IN HIS WORK ON THE ARTICLES,
HAS WON MORE THAN ONE FROM THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE,
AND CONFIRMED OTHERS IN THE ENGLISH COMMUNION ;
THIS SLIGHT OFFERING
IS
PRESENTED,
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF PERSONAL KINDNESSES
RECEIVED AT HIS HANDS,
AND WITH DEEP REVERENCE FOR HIS SACRED OFFICE,
AND THE VIRTUES WHICH SUSTAIN IT.



PREFACE.

THE appearance of the present little work upon a subject, which has been exhaustively treated, by Dr. Isaac Barrow at an earlier period, and by the late Bp. Hopkins of Vermont and others in our own time, may need explanation. It cannot be denied that events of the day give it fresh prominence, and make any contribution towards its discussion, conducted in a careful and impartial spirit, more than ever seasonable.

The recent Pontifical Bull convoking a General Council to be held in Rome at the close of the year, reiterates the claims of the Pope to Supremacy over the Catholic Church, and maintains that in order "that the unity and integrity of the Church and her government might remain perpetually immutable, the Roman Pontiffs, successors of St. Peter, sitting in this same chair of Peter, inherit and possess, in full vigour, the very same supreme authority, jurisdiction, and primacy of Peter, over the whole Church." These claims are thus once again advanced in the face of Christendom, with solemnity and undiminished assurance, at a time, when the circumstances of the Papacy, and the

awakened activity of Branches of the Church which are severed from its communion, would seem to render a re-consideration and abatement of such claims, a measure indicated as necessary or prudential for the restoration of the broken unity of the Church. Even so sturdy a champion of the Reformation as BP. JEWEL, admitted, "that if the Church of Rome would now faithfully keep the traditions and doctrine of the Apostles, we would frankly yield her all that honour that Iræneus giveth her;"¹ but a primacy of honour and the first place in dignity among all Bishops of the Church, is a very different thing from exercising supremacy over the whole Church, and claiming to be the source of jurisdiction to its universal Episcopate. To confound *primacy* with *supremacy* is too palpable a sophism, and yet very much of the argument on the Roman side has been conducted by means of it.

The earnest longing for visible Re-union, is also a fact, which is impressing its feature on our times ; and its tendency in a large and increasing number of minds in our Church, is, to produce an unwillingness to dwell on the doctrinal differences which separate her from the Roman Communion, with the hope that mutual explanations will effect the desired reconciliation, when the Roman claims to supremacy should be moderated, or found to give place to

¹ Works, Vol. 1. p. 365. Parker Society.

a canonically defined primacy only, in the possessor of the Venerable See of Rome. Such a possibility is not denied. It clearly has been contemplated from both sides, as by Leibnitz and Spinola in the wider field of Protestantism, and by Abp. Wake and Du Pin in the more contracted sphere of the Church of England. But the danger, at present, lies in the desire to purchase Unity at the expense of Truth, as if the one may be attained by the mere surrender of the other. And it too often happens, that the possession of the mind by theories of the need of "a living voice" and of "an infallible guide," or of an "ideal of the Church," has led to a submission to the Papal claims, without a calm and patient examination of the evidence on which those claims profess to be grounded.

It is a sense of the pressing importance of facts such as these, that has induced me to commit these papers to the press. They consist mainly of collections made upwards of twenty years ago, when I felt the necessity of settling the question, discussed in them, for my own sake, whilst enjoying the seclusion and advantages of a college life. The battle was then fought and won for myself. I now venture to hope that what was useful to me, may prove so to others also, amid the wider ferment of religious thought now prevailing. The work here offered to such as may be interested in its subject,

makes no pretensions whatever to originality. It is simply the fruit of a Student's toil. I may safely say, that I did not seek in my enquiries to establish a foregone conclusion. The circumstances of my life at the time they were conducted, left me absolutely free to follow my convictions, which ever way they might lead, and they had the effect, in God's mercy, of confirming me in my allegiance to the Church of England. I now print these papers thus originally collected, with such additions as I found occasion to make in subsequent years, under a deep sense of the momentous concern which the question they treat of possesses, both in itself, and in relation to higher truths, which are affected by it. For what an earnest and laborious Clergyman of our Church, now gone to his rest, wrote some years ago, has always struck me as being painfully too true : " Some one has sent me Mr. A ———'s book. He says he has now found out that the Chair of the Chief Shepherd is indeed 'as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land,' Do you think, if he had ever experienced our Saviour to be such, he would ever have applied these words to the Pope ? Surely he never would ; and this is the history and the end, I fear, of all secessions."¹ Deepening years but deepen the experience, that while our love for our dear LORD leads us to love and value all what-

¹ Is. Williams' Memoir of Suckling. App. p. 227.

ever He, in His wisdom and grace, has instituted for our salvation in His Church, whether as to its government or the sacraments committed to its custody, it will be attended with an ever-growing consciousness of enjoying His presence in His ordinances, and a jealousy of aught which may overshadow the glory of that Presence, or obstruct its power to our souls. The abstract unity of the Catholic Episcopate, which as being diffused throughout the whole Church but reflects His Image, may help to raise our conceptions of His invisible Presence and abiding work in the midst of us, as "in the midst of the seven candlesticks" seen in vision by S. John. But the strong concrete form of the Episcopate in the Papacy, effected by merging that diffusive unity in the monarchy of one single Bishop, has, in point of fact, resulted in the assumption of spiritual powers in the person of the Roman Pontiff, which, to say the least of it, seems practically to relegate the Person and work of Christ to Heaven, and leave His kingdom on earth to the uncontrolled dominion and rule of a human Vicegerent. But the true Scriptural doctrine of the unity of the Church as one body—"the whole family in heaven and earth," necessarily involves that the headship which is claimed as essential to the unity of the Church, must extend beyond the Church *upon earth* and include that *in heaven*, a consequence which is absolutely fatal to the pretensions of the Pope, who

can, at most claim to be the vicar of Christ upon earth only. And yet if Scripture declares any truth unmistakeably, it represents the unity of the Church as that of the *whole* Church, and as consisting of unity under one Head, who "is Lord both of the dead and the living."

I will add no more here, than that I humbly desire to commit this work to the blessing of the Great and only Head of the Church, to give it effect, if it so please Him, in the defence of his Holy Catholic Truth, and the advancement of the true unity of His Church.

INTRODUCTION.

Although it does not fall within the scope of the present treatise to discuss the Scriptural argument which is adduced in support of the Papal Supremacy, yet as much of the Testimony of Catholic Antiquity appealed to for the same purpose, turns upon the interpretation of one main text of Holy Writ, S. Matt. xvi. 18, a brief examination of its meaning and import may be attempted as a fitting introduction to the subject of the following pages.

“And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church.” [*Κἀγὼ δὲ σοὶ λέγω, ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*] Such is the promise made by our LORD to the Apostle, which is claimed as conferring a Perpetual Supremacy on the Chair of S. Peter

in the Catholic Church. It certainly does seem a very uncritical process to argue that words addressed so expressly to S. Peter have but a partial reference to him, and that the Rock (πέτρα) was something else than Peter (Πέτρος) himself, though he was so named from being constituted a Rock. So highly valued a Protestant Commentator, as BENGEL, does not hesitate to say, "πέτρος elsewhere signifies *a stone*; but in the case of Simon, *a rock*. It was not fitting that such a man should be called πέτρα, with a feminine termination; on the other hand, St. Matthew, would gladly have written ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πετρῷ, if the idiom would have allowed it; wherefore these two, πέτρα and πέτρος, stand for one name and thing, as both words are expressed in Syriac by one noun, *Kepha*." Both the genius of the language and the force of the context leave little room to doubt that these words convey a personal promise to S. Peter, in consideration of the eminent confession of Christ on his part that is recorded in the Gospel narrative. The remarks of one of our living writers, may however be further here introduced to settle this question. Stanley in his note "on the Promises to Peter" attached to the ii of his

"Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age;" says, "But as the name of Cephas has regard not merely to this particular act, but (John, i. 42), to the general character of which it was the expression, so it seems certain that the words themselves (*ἐπὶ ταυτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ*), though occasioned by the confession, refer to Peter himself. The change of person 'on *this* rock' instead of 'upon *thee*' is the natural result of the sudden transition from a direct¹ to a metaphorical address; and is in exact accordance with our LORD'S manner on other occasions. He said not 'Destroy me' or 'the temple of my body' but 'destroy *this* temple' (John, ii. 19). The change of gender from *πέτρος* to *πέτρα*, is the natural result of the change from a proper name to the word from which the proper name is derived. The French language alone, of all those into which the original has been translated, has been able entirely to preserve their identity. The Greek *πέτρος* which, which for the sake of the masculine termination was necessarily used

¹ An exact parallel to this transition may be seen in Rev. iii. 12, except that whereas here it is from the person to the metaphor, there it is from the metaphor to the person. "He shall be a *Pillar* and on *him* I will write." (Note p. 119.)

to express the name itself, was yet so rarely used in any other sense than a 'stone' that the exigency of the language required an immediate return to the word πέτρα which as in Greek generally, so also in the New Testament, is the almost invariable appellation of a 'rock.' To speak of any confession or form of words however sacred, as a foundation or rock, would be completely at variance with the living representation of the New Testament." pp. 118—120. Granting then that the words belong to S. Peter, the next question that arises, is how is S. Peter the "Rock?"

I. Negatively, (α) not as interfering with the Headship and Supremacy of Christ "*the Rock*" [ἡ δε πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός 1 Cor. x. 4], "for other foundation (θεμέλιον) can no man lay than that is laid (παρὰ τὸν κείμενον) which is JESUS Christ" [1. Cor. iii. 11], "Who is the Head of the Body the Church" [Cor. i. 18], and "the Chief Corner Stone" [Eph. ii. 20:] (β) nor as depriving the rest of the Apostles of their share as parts of the foundation, for the Church is "built upon *the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets* JESUS Christ himself being the Chief Corner Stone" [Eph. ii. 20], and "the wall of the city (the New Jerusalem)

had *twelve foundations* and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb" [Rev. xxi. 14], and the promise to "sit on *twelve* thrones Judging the twelve tribes of Israel" [S. Matt. xix. 28, S. Luke, xxii. 30], was made to the Twelve.

How then II, Positively, is S. Peter the Rock?

Roman Divines teach, that he is the Rock, by being the foundation of the Church Catholic, in the sense of its one visible Head, ruling and guiding it infallibly, in himself and his successors, *ex cathedrâ*, as inheriting his supreme power.

This it will be observed is *their* interpretation of *the metaphor*. It is not too much to say, that in this sense, S. Peter is not taken to be the Rock by any of the greatest Fathers of the Church as S. Augustine, S. Cyril, and S. Chrysostome, who did not suppose the Bishop of Rome as S. Peter's successor to be intended at all, in the passage under dispute, any more than any other Bishop; as may be seen largely proved in the extracts from their writings in Allies' "Church of England cleared from schism." [*The Second Edition.*]

What Mr. Newman wrote whilst in our

Communion, is not the less true by his having, since abandoned it, if his statement rested on an historical basis. His words are: "that St. Peter was the head of the Apostles and the centre of unity, and that his successors are the honorary Primates of Christendom, in the same general sense in which London (for instance) is the first city in the British Empire, I neither affirm nor deny, for to make a clear statement and then to defend it, would carry us away too far from our main subject. But for argument's sake I will here grant that the Fathers assert it. But what there is not the shadow of a reason for saying that they held, what has not the faintest pretensions of being a Catholic truth, is this, that St. Peter or his successors were and are universal Bishops, that they have the whole of Christendom for their one Diocese in a way in which other Apostles and Bishops had and have not, that they are Bishops of Bishops in such a sense as belongs to no other Bishop; in a word, that the difference between St. Peter and the Popes after him, and other Bishops, is not one of mere superiority and degree, but of kind, not of rank, but of class. This the Romanists hold; and they do not hold it by Catholic

Tradition; by what then? by private interpretation of Scripture."¹

The true interpretation of the words under examination appears to be, that S. Peter in consideration of his eminent confession of Christ, received as a reward an eminency in laying the foundation of His Church, was made potently instrumental, or a Prime agent in its establishment. The promise was *personal* in reference to a *personal* confession, and had its fulfilment in the person of S. Peter only.

But here we meet with a difficulty. "*Upon this rock,*" is not "*by this rock,*" as Poole remarks, and "*laying the foundation,*" is not *being* the foundation," as the Commentator, Scott observes.

Both these writers however fail of noticing the Scripture idiom in this passage. Is it not the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writings to consider and speak of one who is instrumental in founding as being the foundation itself? Then what does S. Paul mean by *ἄλλοτριον θεμέλιον* in Rom. xv. 20, or *ἐπὶ τῷ*

¹ Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church. Lec. vii. p. 221, Edition 1838.

θεμελίω τῶν Ἀποστόλων in Eph. ii. 20? In what sense were the Apostles the foundation except as helping to found the Church by their labours and doctrine? Does not this appear still more evident from Rev. xxi. 14, where "the Holy Jerusalem," the Church, is described, with a wall ἔχον θεμελίους δώδεκα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀρνίου. From these proofs of Scripture usage it is very apparent that the founders and foundation are, as it were, identified; their being instrumental in founding giving them a sort of right to be considered as the foundation itself.

Passages from the Fathers, therefore, in which S. Peter is called the Rock, prove nothing in favour of the Roman interpretation, except they are found to explain their meaning in accordance with Roman teaching. But this is by no means the case. On the contrary, I think it may be clearly established that a very current belief was, that S. Peter was designated the Rock with reference to the personal honour bestowed on him to be the prime instrument in founding the Church, by receiving both Jews and Gentiles into its fold.

Thus TERTULLIAN, who is the earliest in

styling S. Peter the "Rock" [de Præscript c. 22], supplies the key to his meaning in another passage [de Pudicitia c. 21], where he says (though in an heretical sense as denying the transmission of the authority of binding and loosing to the Church): "Upon *thee*, He says, I will build my Church, and to *thee*, not to the *Church*, will I give the keys; and whatever *thou* shalt loose or bind, and not what *they* shall loose or bind. For thus the event shows that *on him*, that is *through him* the Church was raised. He first applied the key. Observe what key. 'Ye men of Israel, hear what I say, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by GOD unto you' and the rest. He *first* opened the entrance into the kingdom of heaven by the baptism of Christ, whereby the sins were loosed by which they had been bound; and he too bound Ananias with the bond of death."¹

¹ "Sec enim et exitus docet. In ipso ecclesia exstructa est id est per ipsum. Ipse clavem imbut; vide quam; 'Viri Israelitæ auribus mandate quæ dico Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum' et reliquæ. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, quo solvuntur alligata retro delicta, et alligantur quæ non fuerint soluta secundum veram salutem; et Ananiam vinxit vinculo mortis." Tertulliani Opera. Tom. ii. p. 1026. Ed. Migne.

This is also the interpretation of the ancient writer under the name of S. AMBROSE: "He is called a rock, because he first did lay in the nations the foundations of faith."¹

Agreeably to this S. JEROME writes generally of the Apostles: "They were foundations, because the faith of the Church was first laid upon them."² And again, "This house is built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, who themselves also are mountains, as imitators of Christ—whence also Christ foundeth the Church on one of the mountains, &c." In Is. ii. 2; and, In Amos, ix. 12. "The Rock is Christ, who gave to His Apostles (not S. Peter only) to be called Rocks."³ And later still, CHRYSOLOGUS says, that "Peter had his name from a rock, because he first merited to found the Church by firmness of faith."⁴

¹ "Petra enim dicitur eò quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit." Ambr: Serm. ii. de Sanctis. ed Rom. 1585.

² "In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primum posita est fides ecclesiæ." S. Hier: in Ps. lxxxvi.

³ "Petra Christus est, Qui donavit Apostolis, ut ipsi quoque petrae vocentur."

⁴ "Petrus a Petra nomen adeptus est, quia primus meruit ecclesiam fidei firmitate fundare." Chrys: Serm. 53. (Quot-

To take one or two of the Greek Fathers, S. GREGORY of *Nizianzum*, speaking of S. Peter, says, "One is called a Rock and is entrusted with the foundations of the Church"¹—entrusting to one the foundations of the Church, simply signifying his choice to be the instrument for founding it.

S. BASIL *the Great*, writes, "The Church is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets; *Peter also was one of the mountains*; upon which Rock the LORD did promise to build His Church."² And again with reference to S. Peter, "allusively interpreting our Saviour's words," as Dr. Barrow remarks, he says, "for the excellency of his faith, did he take on him the edifying of the Church,"³

ed by Dr. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy.—p. 99. C. K. S. edition 1851.

¹ ὁ μὲν πέτρα καλεῖται, καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας πιστεύεται. Orat. xxvi.

² Ἐκκλησία—ὠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ἐν τῶν ὁρέων ἦν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρας ἐπηγείλατο ὁ κύριος οἰκοδομησεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Basil in Is. ii. p. 869.

³ ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος.—Basil contra Eunom. lib. ii.

which is evidently equivalent to what Tertulian meant by the words "Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ petram dictum" [De Præscrip. c. 22], "*Peter who was called the rock of the Church to be erected.*"

The conclusion to which the eminent Roman Catholic writer DU PIN, arrives, after an able and candid investigation of the subject, well expresses the result to which we are ourselves brought: "supposing Christ to have spoken these words of Peter personally, He meant nothing else than that Peter *should labour exceedingly in the edification of the Church*, that is, in the conversion of the faithful or administration of the Churches. The utmost then that can be deduced from hence is, that he should be the first and chief among those who were to preach the Gospel: but it cannot be collected with Bellarmine, that the *Government of the whole Church was committed to Peter* especially in matters of faith."¹

The interpretation of the remainder of this passage in S. Matthew's Gospel [c. xvi. 18, 19],

¹Du Pin De Antiq : Eccl. Disciplina, Diss iv. p. 307. Ed. Colon. 1691.

as well as of the two other passages [S. Luke, xxii. 32, and S. John, xxi. 15 sqq.] which are ordinarily combined with it, to represent the Scriptural argument for the Papal Supremacy, will incidentally be brought to view, in our examination of the Testimony of the Catholic Fathers, which is the more immediate purpose of these papers. But it is well to premise, that the bearing of their expositions of these passages upon the question of a Supremacy in S. Peter, does not depend upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of the statements they contain, and on which such expositions turn, but solely upon their consistency or inconsistency with the belief which it was possible for them to entertain by the side of those statements, in the actual existence of such a supremacy transmitted in the Roman See. A false criticism might vitiate the interpretation, but the very fact of its adoption renders such an interpretation more fatal than a true one, to the notion of any spiritual supremacy then existing and acknowledged, if it is more directly opposed to the supposition of the existence of the supremacy in question, than the true one would be. The point in fact to be taken into account, is not whether any

particular interpretation is accurate or inaccurate, true or false; but whether it is consistent or inconsistent with a belief, held concurrently, of a supremacy of power and jurisdiction as conferred originally on S. Peter, and transmitted through him to his successors, the Bishops of Rome. For instance, we can hardly think it possible for S. Augustine to interpret S. Matt. xvi. 18, in the way he does, if it could have been a principle universally recognized in his time, that our Lord in naming S. Peter *the rock*, designed to constitute him and his successors, supreme Governors of His Church on earth.

Having thus cleared our way somewhat to our main subject, we proceed to examine the principal testimonies adduced from the Catholic Fathers, in proof of the Supremacy of the Pope.

CHAPTER I.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS.

§ 1. *S. Clement of Rome.*

Though no direct passage or expression in the genuine Epistle of S. Clement, has been appealed to, in favour of the Roman doctrine of the Supremacy, yet the fact itself of his writing an Epistle to the Corinthian Church to exhort its members to maintain unity and peace, has been alleged as a proof of his supremacy as the Bishop of Rome, and the sending of four others with the messenger from the Corinthians, Fortunatus, has actually been considered as equivalent to a despatching of "Legates."¹ But by this mode of argument S. Ignatius, and S. Polycarp, who addressed Epistles to other Churches than their own, and sent messengers withal, will stand charged with being rivals for the Papal Supremacy. The fact is, that from the way in which S. Clement, in this Epistle speaks of the commis-

¹ See the Introduction to Ward's Three letters to the Editor of the Guardian.

sion of the Apostles from Christ and their ordaining successors, his testimony forms a strong negative argument against any supremacy of Pastoral power in S. Peter. "Christ therefore, was sent forth from God, and the Apostles from Christ."¹ "They therefore appointed those before mentioned and left a continuation of succession, in order that if they fell asleep other approved men might succeed to their office."²

A passage in Westcott's "*Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*," though written in another connexion may here be introduced with advantage. "Clement the earliest of the Fathers, does not even write in his own name to the Church of Corinth, but simply as the representative of the Church of Rome. He lays aside the individual authority of the Apostle, and the Epistle was well named in the next age, that of the Romans to the Corinthians [Clem. Alex. Str. v. 12 § 81]. He apologizes in some measure for the tone of reproof which he himself

¹ c. xlii. και μεταξὺ ἐπινομην δεδώκασι, c. xliv. vid. Dr. Jacobson's note.

² Ep. ad Corinth, c. xlii.

uses, and at the same time refers his readers to the Epistle of the blessed Paul who wrote to them 'spiritually,' and certainly with the fullest consciousness of absolute and unsparing authority." [c. vii. xlvii].¹

Before leaving S. Clement of Rome, it might be observed that in a fragment of very doubtful genuineness [Fragmenta x. Dr. Jacobson,] ascribed to him in the Manuscript in which it is found, S. Peter is called by the title of *πρωτοκορυφαῖος*. "The compound used seems," as Dr. Moberly, observes after Jacobson, "to belong to a more recent date; but the title of *κορυφαῖος* and many similar titles, are often given to the great Apostle by those of whom it is abundantly clear from other passages that they did not intend to attribute more than a precedency of honour by such designations."²

§ 2. *S. Ignatius.*

Dr. Milner in his "End of Controversy" (Lett. xlv.) thus writes—"St. Ignatius, who was a disciple of the Apostles and next succes-

¹ Westcott's Survey, Ch. I. séc. ii. p. 66.

² Discourses on the Sayings of the Great Forty Days pp. 169 170, note.

sor, after Evodius, of St. Peter in the see of Antioch, addresses his most celebrated Epistle to the Church, which he says 'Presides in the country of the Romans' (*προκάθεται*). The following note in Dr. Jacobson's edition of the Apostolical Fathers easily disposes of this proof. "Eustathius in Dionysium p. 118, [Ed. Steph.] de Antiochiâ, *ἐξ ὧν αὕτη ἡ τῆς κοίτης Συρίας προκαθήμενη*. Edictum exstat apud Johannem Antiochenum. 'Εν 'Αντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει, *ἱερᾷ καὶ ασυλῷ, καὶ αὐτονόμῳ καὶ ἀρχούσῃ, καὶ προκαθήμενῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, Ιουλίος Γαίος Καίσαρ κ. τ. λ.* P. 278, [Ed. Oxon 1691] Pearson." Dr. Döllinger, on the other hand with reference to this very expression adduced by Dr. Milner, in proof of the universal jurisdiction of S. Peter, and his successors, is constrained to argue that "in these words he (S. Ignatius) does not confine the authority, but describes only the situation, of the Church of Rome," [Ch. Hist. vol. i. p. 255, note, Dr. Cox's Trs.]

But a new proof is however attempted by him to be drawn from another expression. Speaking of the testimonies "attesting the supremacy of the Roman Church and of its bishops," he remarks: "The first testimony is that of an Apostolic Father, St. Ignatius,

who, in the superscription of his letter to the Romans, gives this supremacy to their Church, naming it the *directress of the testament of love*, that is of all Christianity," and in the note above mentioned, he further adds with reference to the phrase *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης* that "these words do not signify *præsidens in caritate*, as the old Latin translation has rendered them, for then St. Ignatius, would have said *ἐν ἀγάπῃ: ἀγάκη* signifies, in the same manner as *ἐκκλησία*, sometimes a smaller assembly of the faithful at the sacred love feasts, sometimes the entire body of the faithful of all the Church—a communion founded on love and preserved by love." "Directress of the Testament of Love," is certainly not a translation of the original words, and the value of the critical argument advanced in the note will depend very much on the actual use made by S. Ignatius, and his contemporaries of the term *ἀγάπη* in the sense of the body of the Church as the community of love. It is used *seventy-three* times in the collected writings of S. Clement, S. Ignatius, and S. Polycarp, in the Acts of S. Ignatius' martyrdom, and in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of S. Polycarp;

but every where it possesses its common Christian signification, either expressive of the Divine attribute of love, or importing that Divinely imparted affection and its essential activities which live and are exhibited in the sanctified soul united to God, Who is love. One or two passages only appear at first sight to give some countenance to Dr. Döllinger's rendering, *ασπαζεται υμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Συμυρναίων*—Ep. ad Trall. § 13 and again a similar form in the Ep. ad Philadelph: § 11, but it cannot be affirmed with any certainty that so refined or rather recondite a sense of the term *ἀγάπη* as that for which Dr. Döllinger contends, was present to the mind of S. Ignatius. And, what is more to our purpose, we find the expression itself explained as it were in the Ep. ad Smyrn § 12, *ασπαζεται υμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι* in which the addition of *τῶν ἀδελφῶν* would seem to fix the usual signification on the term *ἀγάπη*, and therefore so great a scholar as Bp. Pearson took the words *ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν* to be simply equivalent to *ἀδελφοί* in comparison with such texts as 1. Cor. xiv. 20, Phil. iv. 21, Titus, iii. 15. But to return to the passage itself *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης*, the pre-eminence *in place* first mentioned relating

to position, may well be followed by a mention of the pre-eminence *in charity* also, so well becoming that position; and we know from early Church History, that Rome took the lead of most Churches in the greatness and extent of its charities. See Eusebius' Eccles. Hist. Bk. iv. 23, for the testimony of Dionysius Bp. of Corinth, to this effect, little more than 50 years only after this was written.

§ 3. *S. Irenæus.*

The argument from this Father may be stated in the words of Dr. Döllinger, who says "the disciple of another apostolic father (meaning S. Polycarp) S. Irenæus declares the same [that is "the supremacy of the Roman Church and of its bishops"] in terms clear and precise. He is opposing to the pretended, secret tradition of the Gnostics, the genuine and well known traditions of the Apostles as they had been preserved by Bishops who had succeeded them in continued succession in the Churches, which they had founded; and he exemplifies in particular the Church of Rome: 'for it is necessary' he says, 'that the whole Church, that is the faithful of the whole world, should be in

communion with this Church, on account of its more powerful authority; in which communion the faithful of the whole world have preserved, the tradition that was delivered by the Apostles.’¹ [Ch. Hist. vol. 1. p. 256.]

The following is Dr. Beaven’s comment on this passage :—

“There are several words in this passage which must influence the sense of it. The first I shall notice is the word *potentiozem*, the more especially as there is a various reading upon it. One MS. (the Clermont) of considerable value, reads *potiozem*; but Massuet who examined it says that it *had* been written *pontiozem* (but altered to *potiozem*) which is almost certainly a contraction for the common reading. We must therefore I conclude sit down with the common reading: although Massuet in the Benedictine Edition and J. J. Griesbach, in some remarks upon this passage, prefer the other. But what Greek word *potentiozem* represents must be matter of con-

¹ “Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiozem principatatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles; in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.” S. Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. iii. 3. 2.

jecture; and no one who is acquainted with the manner in which the Translator has rendered Greek words will be inclined to lay much stress upon it. It may have been put for *ικανωτέραν* or *κρειτοννα*; or in short the comparative of any adjective which *admits* of being rendered *potens*. We then come to the word *principalitatem*. This we know that the ancient Translator of Irenæus uses to signify *αρχή* (ii. xxx. 9, in translating Eph. 1. 21). Putting these two together Griesbach has rendered *κρειτοννα αρχην* *potiorem initium*, and thus got rid of the idea of authority altogether. But there is no need of this. *Principalis* is used by the Translator as the rendering of *ηγemonικός* (iii. xi. 8), *principaliter* of *προηγούμενως* (i. ix. 3) and *προηγητικως* (v. xxvii. 2); *principalitatem habeo* of *πρωτεύω* (iv. xxxviii. 3). We know that all the *Apostolical* Sees had a kind of principality or pre-eminence above the surrounding Churches; a more powerful pre-eminence than other Churches equally ancient as themselves. Nay we know that the Church of Rome had at that time, in point of fact a more powerful pre-eminence than any other Church.

The next word to be considered is *convenire*

which may be rendered either *resort* or *agree*; and I confess I should have been disposed with Massuet to render it *agree*, were it not for a perfectly parallel passage in the 32d oration of Gregory of Nazianzum delivered at the first Council of Constantinople. He says *εἰς ἣν τὰ πανταχόθεν ἄκρα συντρέχει καὶ ὅθεν ἄρχεται ὡς ἐμπορίου κοινοῦ τῆς πίστεως*. Here Constantinople is spoken of *then* under the very same terms as Rome by Irenæus, as *the common repository of the faith*: other parts of the Christian world are said to be governed (*ἄρχεται*) by it; and distant Churches are said to *resort from all quarters*; (*συντρέχει πανταχόθεν*). Are not these words an exact parallel to the *convenire* and *undique* of the Translator of Irenæus? I therefore feel bound to give *convenire* the sense of *resort*.

The next word to be noticed is *undique*; the application of which is disputed; some as Barrow and Faber applying it only to the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, i. e., Italy and the adjacent parts of Gaul; others and of course the Romanists, to the whole Christian Church. According to the former plan, the clause of '*hoc est—fideles*' is a limitation of the expression '*omnem Ecclesiam*', confining it to

the Churches immediately surrounding Rome; and consequently the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome would be equally narrowed by this interpretation of *undique*. I am far from contending that this interpretation is not correct, and the very fact of the passage admitting it without any force whatever, shows how little the Papal cause can be made to rest upon it. But as Gregory, in the parallel passage I have quoted, uses the term *πανταχόθεν*, I am disposed to take *undique* as its representative; the more especially as we have seen that, whatever influence it gives to Rome, the self same influence had Constantinople in an after age.

There are one or two more words still to be noticed. *Necesse est* is one of them. It may imply that it is the *duty* of every Church to resort to Rome, but its more natural and usual meaning is, that *as a matter of course*, Christians from all parts and not strictly the Churches themselves, were led to resort thither by the superior eminence of that Church.

I have hitherto taken this passage as though it *must* be applied to the Church of Rome. But this is by no means necessary; for it may be a general observation applicable to all the

most eminent Churches, as may be seen by the following translation and arrangement of it. 'For every Church (that is the faithful all around) must necessarily resort to that Church in which the apostolical tradition has been preserved by those on all sides of it, on account of its more powerful pre-eminence;' that is Christians must have recourse each to the most ancient and most eminent Church in his neighbourhood. And this agrees with a passage from Tertullian (De Præscrip: Hær. 36,) in which he refers Southern Greeks to Corinth, Northern to Philippi and Thessalonica, Asiatics to Ephesus, Italians and Africans to Rome. The only objection which occurs to me lies in the word *hanc*, which if the passage is to be taken in this application must be translated *that*, but as it was in all probability the representative of *ταύτην*, this word can scarcely present any difficulty.

I will close this whole discussion with two remarks; first, that unless we could recover the Greek Text of this passage, it is plainly impossible to *ascertain* its true sense; and secondly, that the strongest sense we can attach to it, consistently with History, is, that Christians of that period from all parts of

Christendom must if they wish to ascertain *traditions*, have recourse to the Church of Rome, because as the first Church in Christendom the common traditions were preserved there by the resort of Christians from all quarters. This two-fold reason for resorting thither has long ceased to exist, and consequently this passage of Irenæus can afford no support to the claims of modern Rome, until it can be proved that those portions of the Christian world which are not in communion with her, are no part of the Catholic Church.”¹

Little need be added to this lucid and able criticism on this celebrated passage. It is observable however, that S. Irenæus prefaces it with language in no way compatible with the idea of the universal submission to the Church of Rome now claimed by its members on the strength of it. On advancing to encounter the heretics against whom S. Irenæus was writing by the testimony of the Catholic Church, he says with reference to the mode in which this testimony was to be obtained, “*it would be tedious*” to cite as it were *all* the Churches of Christendom as witnesses—“ [Valde longum

¹ Beaven's Irenæus, pp. 63—68.

esset omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones],” and therefore, while clearly implying that the tradition of the apostles was preserved by the succession of Bishops in every city, he proceeds to trace that successional tradition in the instances of Rome and *Smyrna*. S. Irenæus’ language is plainly absurd, if Rome had been in his estimation supreme over *all* Churches, and if all Churches were bound to conform to *her*.

A Gallican Divine the Abbè Prompsault, summing up the evidence from this Father, says, “according to S. Irenæus, then, it is the Church of Jerusalem which has been the mother of all the other Churches. In his time men might address themselves to all the Apostolic Churches for the knowledge of the truth, and the conviction of error. Recourse to Rome for this purpose was not indispensable; it was simply a shorter way for the Westerns ... There were none among the ancients who recognized the papal monarchy, which you and your friends pretend was established by Christ.”¹

¹ p. 62, *Du Siege du Pouvoir ecclesiastique dans l’eglise de JESUS Christ*, quoted in *Literary Churchman* of Aug. 11, 1855.

§ 4. *Tertullian.*

The celebrated Presbyter of Carthage is the earliest Latin Father whose testimony in support of Papal claims has been often advanced, though without foundation. In his treatise *De Præscript* : Hæret § 22 he asks : “ Was any thing hidden from Peter who was called the *Rock* whereon the Church should be built, who obtained *the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth ?”¹

In the context in which this passage occurs, Tertullian after giving an account of the planting of the Church, speaks of its *unity*, and strongly insists on the argument from Præscription and Tradition against the Heretics, without any the most remote allusion to the Church of Rome, as the centre of unity, or the superiority of any one Apostle above the rest, or the primacy of the successors of S. Peter. His language is strong and significant. “ And for this cause they are themselves also

¹ “ Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ Ecclesiæ Petram dictum, claves regni cœlorum consecutum, et solvendi et ligandi in cœlis et in terris potestatem ?”

accounted Apostolical, as being the offspring of Apostolical Churches. The whole kind must needs be classed under their original. Wherefore these Churches, so many and so great, are but that *one primitive Church* from the Apostles, whence they all spring. Thus all are the primitive and all Apostolic, while all are one."¹

He then produces the objection of the Heretics that "*non omnia Apostolos scisse*," and in replying to this, occurs the passage above adduced. It is true he here calls S. Peter "the rock" on which the Church was to be built, but he explains his meaning as has been already observed, in his treatise de Pudicitia c. 21, which though written after he was a follower of Montanus, is not to be discarded on this account, not only because the errors of Montanus had no relation to the doctrine of S. Peter's Pastoral authority over the other Apostles, and the derivation of that authority to the particular Church of Rome; but also

¹ "Ac per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ, *una est illa ab Apostolis prima ex qua omnes*. Sic omnes primæ et Apostolicæ dum una omnes probant unitatem."

because Rigault himself a Roman Catholic, a learned and candid critic, defends Tertullian from having had any participation in those errors, since Montanus himself was Orthodox at first and became Heretical afterwards. [In not : Tert. Oper. p. 501.]

In the passage in which he commemorates the happiness of the Roman Church "where Peter was made equal to the LORD's passion, where Paul was crowned with the martyrdom of John, where the Apostle John after suffering no evil from being plunged into the fiery oil, was banished to the Isle of Patmos," he speaks indirectly indeed, but very clearly of the equality of the Apostolic Churches in respect of their true independent possession of the inherited faith. "Come then," are his words, "thou who shalt desire to exercise thy curiosity still better in the work of thy salvation. Run over the Apostolic Churches in which the chairs of the Apostles still preside in their own places; in which their own authentic letters are still read, uttering the voice and representing the look of each one of them. Is Achaia near you? you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. If you

are in Italy, you have Rome, whence we also are within reach of authority." (De Præscrip. Hær. c. xxxvi.)

Dr. Döllinger endeavours to elicit a favourable testimony from Tertullian in another way. He says "Tertullian, also, when a Montanist, although unwillingly, bore witness to the supreme dignity of the bishop of Rome. For when bitterly censuring a decree of the Pope, in which he declared the power of the Church in forgiving sins, Tertullian objects to him that he considered or made himself bishop of bishops, a title which might be made to correspond to the heathen Pontifex maximus." [vol. 1. p. 258.] The fact however is that Tertullian actually styles him "Pontifex Maximus" as well as "bishop of bishops," and both in irony. He is one as much as the other in Tertullian's eyes, for an edict on the matter of forgiveness of sins, which whether rightly or wrongly he would not accept. As a Montanist, Tertullian, confines the gift of the keys to S. Peter's first preaching of the Gospel, denying the transmission of the authority of binding and loosing to the Church; and under the influence of this heretical view it is not surprizing if he took offence at some rule of

Church discipline, or actual perversion of discipline in permitted laxity of morals. Curiously enough the lately discovered Greek manuscript of S. Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* or *Refutation of Heresy*, supplies an illustration of this fact in Tertullian's career, and presents a passage quite parallel to this of Tertullian's under consideration. We know that from about A. D. 192 to A. D. 222 the see of Rome was occupied in succession by Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus, and this period corresponds with that allotted to Tertullian's career. The Author of the MS. informs us that during the Episcopate of Zephyrinus there were two parties in the Roman Church—one the orthodox, the other consisting of those who inclined to the opinions of Sabellius, who it seems was then in person at Rome. He even asserts of the Roman bishop that "being inveigled himself he ran into the same errors, having as his adviser and co-adjutor in evil, Callistus, whose life and whose heresy, invented by him, (*καὶ τὴν ἐφευρεθεῖσαν αἵρεσιν*), I will "he adds" soon relate." This Callistus from all the evidence the treatise itself furnishes, was the Bishop of Rome who succeeded Zephyrinus, and the narrative informs us that in his time corrupt doc-

trine in the Church was accompanied with laxity of discipline; and it is in allusion to this latter circumstance that the following passage occurs. "Behold to what impiety this lawless person (ὁ ἄνομος) proceeded, teaching adultery and murder at the same time! and yet after all these enormities these men are lost to all sense of shame, and presume to call themselves a Catholic Church (καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι)! and some persons imagining to fare well resort to them." [Philosophumena, p. 291. 25.] Contrast now with this the passage in Tertullian which has led to these remarks—"Andio edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium; Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta, pœnitentia functis dimitto, &c." In this view of the passage no candid judgment will be slow to allow that Tertullian had no idea of doing honour to the Bishop of Rome. That the very contrary was his intention is apparent. The title of Pontifex Maximus which was the title of the heathen high Priest was never applied to the Christian Priesthood until a much later age, when the fall of heathendom rendered the title inoffensive. The other

expression of "Bishop of Bishops," does not appear to have been either claimed or yielded in favour of the Bishops of Rome for many centuries after the age of Tertullian. S. Cyprian and the African bishops at the Council held at Carthage in A. D. 256 expressly condemned it, "for no one of us" said they "sets himself up to be a Bishop of Bishops"—"*neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit*"—[Op. S. Cyp. ed. Goldhorn. Pars. ii. p. 266.] And S. Gregory the Great was vehemently opposed to such a title, we know. But it is very evident that Tertullian could not have designed to concede any thing in favour of Papal claims, as this passage occurs in the very work in which he explains his sense of S. Peter's being the rock as a personal honour having its fulfilment on the day of Pentecost—"In ipso Ecclesia extructa est, id est *per ipsum*." One passage more from Tertullian may be added, shewing in what light he viewed S. Peter, which his disciple (as he may be called) S. Cyprian, and after him S. Augustine more fully brought out. "Nam etsi adhuc clausum putas coelum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, et *per eum* Ecclesiae reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque inter-

rogatus atque confessus feret secum"—“If thou dost still think Heaven is closed against thee, remember that the LORD gave the keys of it here to Peter, and through him, he left them to the Church, which keys every one here being interrogated and making a good confession, shall carry with him.”—Tert. Scorp. § x. p. 496. A.

§ 5. *S. Cyprian.* -

The evidence afforded by the writings of S. Cyprian on the subject before us is of especial value. It has lately been claimed on the Roman side by the late Archdeacon Wilberforce in his “Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority,” but his whole argument founded on it, was vitiated by his assuming that a *symbol* “to set forth unity” in the Church, and the *instrument* or actual head of unity, are identical. But the evidence of S. Cyprian claims careful examination—It is full and very significant.

We consider that the Church is one, and that as there is but one Bishop Invisible, “the Head of the body, the Church,” (Col. i. 18,) “the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls” (1 S. Pet. ii. 25), so in theory, there is but one Bishop

visible on earth however many numerically these may actually be ; and that the multitude of Bishops are not acknowledged in the Gospel system *as* many, or *as if*, viewed *as* representatives of the Bishop invisible, they were *capable* of mutual relations one with another, but as being each one separately, and all collectively, shadows and organs of one and the same Object or Divine reality. Each church with its Bishop, is the type of the whole, and the bond of unity to the whole is is their dependence upon the one and only true Head of the Church, the Lord JESUS Christ, and their mutual concord in Him. It was to *commend and manifest* this unity, that our Blessed Lord in addressing S. Peter on his confession, used those words, which have been made the ground and reason of so highly centralized and absolute a monarchy as that claimed by the Bishop of Rome as his successor. But their true meaning and import as understood by S. Cyprian, are beautifully brought out by him in his Treatise on the unity of the church, in which after dwelling on the evils and disorders caused in the church by Satan's devices, he says "This will be, most dear brethren, so long as there is no

regard to the source of Truth, nor looking to the Head, nor keeping to the doctrine of our heavenly Master. If any one consider and weigh this, he will not need length of comment or argument. Proof is ready for belief in a short statement of the truth. The Lord saith unto Peter 'I say unto thee (saith He) that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' To him again after His resurrection He says 'Feed my sheep.' Upon one He builds His Church, and though he gives to all the Apostles an *equal power* and says 'As my Father hath sent me even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit they shall be remitted to him, and whosoever sins ye retain they shall be retained:—yet *in order to manifest unity*, He established by His authority the origin of the same unity beginning from one. [Tamén ut unitatem *manifestaret*, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit.] Certainly

the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with *an equal fellowship both of honour and power*; but a commencement is made from unity, that the Church may be set before us as one; which one Church in the Song of songs the Holy Spirit speaking in the person of our Lord designates and says: 'my dove, my spotless one, is but one; she is the only one of her mother, elect of her that bare her.' " "This is very much to be observed" remarks Bp. Pearson on this passage, "because this place of S. Cyprian is produced by the Romanists to prove the necessity of one Head of the Church upon earth, and to shew that the Bishop of Rome is that one Head by virtue of his succession to S. Peter; whereas S. Cyprian speaketh nothing of any such one Head, nor of any such succession, but only of the origination of the Church, which was disposed by Christ, that the unity might be expressed. For whereas all the rest of the Apostles had equal power and honour with S. Peter, yet Christ did particularly give that power to S. Peter, to shew the unity of the Church which He intended to build upon the foundation of the Apostles."¹ In other places

¹Expos. of the Creed Art. ix. note p. 340, Ed. 1683.

S. Cyprian in accordance with this view writes, "There is one God and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord on Peter." (Ep. xliii. S. Cypr. Plebi). This doctrine is repeated in the Epistle of Cornelius to S. Cyprian, thus: "Nor are we ignorant that there is one God, one Christ, the Lord whom we have confessed, one Holy Ghost, that there ought to be one Bishop in the Catholic Church" (Ep. xlix. Cornelius Cypriano). This assertion which at first sight might seem to favour the modern claims of the Roman see, is thus interpreted in the treatise, *De Unitate*: "The Episcopate is one, of which every individual (Bishop) participates possessing it entire"—*Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*. And again elsewhere: "From Christ there is one Church divided throughout the whole world into many members; and one Episcopate diffused by the 'concordant numerosity' of many Bishops"—*Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus*. (Ep. lv. Cyprianus Antoniano). Thus the Episcopate is "single and indivisible"—*Episcopatum—unum atque indivisum probemus* (*De unit Eccl.*), but held in equal truth and ful-

ness by many. All alike hold under the promise made to S. Peter. That promise was addressed to him personally "to manifest unity;" but in him was addressed alike to all. There are *many* shepherds but the flock is *one* (Ep. lxviii.) And elsewhere he says, that "heresies and schisms have ever had their rise in disobedience to the priest of God and neglect of the *one Priest in the Church at the time*, one judge at the time, in the place of Christ" Ep. lix., in which S. Cyprian means no allusion to the Bp. of Rome more than to any other Bishop, and is actually speaking of himself, and of the consequences of any where setting up in a see a schismatical Bishop against the true one. What decides the matter is, that in these and similar letters, Rome does not come into the controversy, the matters spoken of relating to Africa. The circumstance is decisive of his meaning, also, when he speaks of the See of S. Peter, "*Cathedra Petri*," and claims authority for it. In one place he so speaks with reference to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, whom he supports in preference to Novatian as filling "the place of Peter and the rank of the Sacerdotal see." (Ep. xl.) But elsewhere as considering the

chair of S. Peter as existing in the Episcopate of every Catholic Church, he uses the same language when warning his own people against the schismatical Bishop Felicissimus: "God is one, and Christ is one and the Church one, and the see one founded by the Lord's voice upon Peter" (Ep. xliii. Goldhorn p. 85.) This plainly shows that he considers S. Peter's authority not as bound up in the see of Rome only, but as extending to *all* Bishops. He does not speak of him merely as the local Bishop of Rome, but as the type of all bishops, and as if ruling in every see all over Christendom. And every Bishop is S. Peter's successor; and separating from S. Peter does not mean separation from Rome, but from the local see wherever a man finds himself; though it was natural, of course, that since the Apostle had a more intimate connexion with Rome than with other places, that when S. Cyprian speaks of Rome, he should especially be led to mention S. Peter. But the most certain proof that by S. Peter's See S. Cyprian did not mean to designate Rome, or by his authority the Papal Power, is contained in the history of his own controversy with Pope Stephen on the subject of heretical baptism. Had he

so accounted him to be the one Bishop in the Church, as the Roman interpretation of these passages requires he should, he never would have spoken of Stephen's "obstinatio" or as it would seem he did, as being the Translator of Firmilian's letter, of his "audacia et insolentia." But if by the 'supremacy of Peter' is not meant to designate the power of the Pope, it remains that it must designate that of the Bishop.

Much of what has been here said, is from Mr. Newman's masterly article on "the Catholicity of the English Church" in the No. for January 1840 of the British Critic; but since his secession to the Roman communion he disposes of the argument S. Cyprian's resistance furnishes, on the principle that "all authority necessarily leads to resistance," on which certainly the strongest and most consistent denial of usurpation is the surest proof of authority. But Dr. Döllinger deals with the whole question with considerable more candour. After narrating the unsuccessful mission of the African Clergy to the Bishop of Rome, to bring about a union of sentiment and practice on the question of re-baptization, he writes, "S. Cyprian as soon as he received the reply of the Bishop

of Rome, called a third council at Carthage at which eighty-five bishops were present. The Pope had threatened to excommunicate the African bishops, if they did not recede from their former decree, and S. Cyprian now addressing the assembled members of the council and asking their opinions, suffered to escape from him a concealed indeed, but bitter complaint against this menace of the Pontiff. 'While we spoke our own sentiments' he said 'we wished not to judge others, nor did we threaten to expel others, whatever their opinions might have been, from the communion of the Church. No one of us seeks to become the *bishop of bishops*, nor to reduce his companions in office to subjection by tyrannical intimidation, for every bishop in virtue of his dignity, possesses free power and *can be as little judged by others as he himself can judge*. We acknowledge only one judge over us, our LORD JESUS Christ.' In his ardour, the bishop of Carthage forgot, that he had himself, a short time before, expressed other sentiments in the case of Marcian bishop of Arles, and of the Spanish bishops Basilides and Martial; and he who had recently written so eloquently on the unity of the Church, now claimed for

every individual bishop an independence, that would not have left even the shadow of unity remaining " (Church History, Cox's Trs. vol. 1. p. 210, 211.) The requirements of a generous and just criticism, demand that an expression of sentiments such as that before us, *deliberately* made in so large a council of bishops, and acquiesced in by all, should not be disposed of in so easy a manner, as by assuming that *ardour* had made them *forget* themselves. As to the inconsistency of the sentiment expressed with previous teaching, this can by no means be conceded, after the view we have had of that teaching in its full bearing and exact significance. For a summary of S. Cyprian's relation to the Roman Pontiff, the following by Mr. Allies is sufficient, and will illustrate the real force of the instances alluded to by Dr. Döllinger.

"In truth, all the acts of St. Cyprian's Episcopate, are an indisputable assurance to the candid mind that he treated the Roman Pontiff simply as his brother,—his elder brother, indeed, holding the first see in Christendom, but individually, as liable to err as himself. And it is equally clear that St. Augustine, a hundred and forty years later, did not

censure him for this. What we have seen, is this. In the matter of Fortunatus and Felicissimus, Cyprian rejects with vehement indignation their appeal to Rome: in the case of Marcian of Arles, having, *as well as* Pope Stephen, *been appealed to* by Faustinus Bishop of Lyons, and his Colleagues, he writes as an equal to Pope Stephen, almost enjoining him what to do: on the question of re-baptizing heretics, he disregards St. Stephen's judgment and the anathema which accompanies it; and how strong St. Firmilian's language is we need not repeat, who declares that St. Stephen's excommunication only cut off himself: in the case of Basilides, he deposes afresh one whom Stephen had restored."¹

One passage of S. Cyprian's demands separate consideration. It has been made much of, in the late Adn. Wilberforce's treatise. In Ep. xlviii. (Goldhorn, p. 94,) occur these words "Ut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent ac tenerent," which Roman writers allege, saying that S. Cyprian called the "Roman Church the root and matrix of the Catholic Church of Christ." Abp. Laud, in his

¹ Ch. of Eng. cleared from Schism, p. 57.

solid and learned work, the "Conference with Fisher," explains this passage in full. He says, "First then St. Cyprian names not Rome; that stands only in the margin, and was placed there as his particular judgement led him that set out St. Cyprian. Secondly, the true story of that Epistle and that which led St. Cyprian into this expression, was this, Cornelius, then chosen Pope, expostulates with St. Cyprian, that his letters to Rome were directed only to the Clergy there and not to him; and takes it ill, as if St. Cyprian had thereby seemed to disapprove his election. St. Cyprian replies, that by reason of the schism moved then by Novatian, it was uncertain in Afric which of the two had the more canonical right to the See of Rome, and that therefore he named him not: but yet that during this uncertainty he exhorted all that sailed thither '*ut ecclesiæ catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent ac tenerent*;' that in all their carriage they should acknowledge and so hold themselves unto, the unity of the Catholic Church which is the root and matrix of it, and the only way to avoid participation in the schism. And that this must be St. Cyprian's meaning I shall thus prove. First, because this could not be his

meaning or intention, that the See of Rome was the root or matrix of the Catholic Church. For if he had told them so, he had left them in as great or greater difficulty than he found them. For there was then an open and an apparent schism in the Church of Rome; two bishops, Cornelius and Novatian; two congregations, which respectively attended and observed them. So that a perplexed question must needs have divided their thoughts, which of these two had been that root and matrix of the Catholic Church. Therefore had St. Cyprian meant to pronounce Rome the root and matrix of the Catholic Church, he would never have done it at such a time, when Rome itself was in schism. Whereas in the other sense, the counsel is good and plain; namely, that they should hold themselves to the unity and communion of the Catholic Church which is the root of it. And then necessarily they were to suspend their communion there, till they saw how the Catholic Church did incline, to approve or disapprove the election of the one or the other. And thus St. Cyprian frees himself to Cornelius from the very least touch of schism. Secondly, because this sense comes home to Baronius: for he affirms, that St.

Cyprian and his colleagues the African bishops did 'communione suspendere,' suspend their communion, until they heard by Caldonius and Fortunatus whose the undoubted right was. So it seems St. Cyprian gave that counsel to these travellers which himself followed. For if Rome during the schism and in so great uncertainty, had yet been *radix Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, root of the Catholic Church of Christ, I would fain know how St. Cyprian so great and famous an assertor of the Church's unity, durst once so much as think of suspending communion with her."¹ The Archbishop then proceeds to confirm and illustrate this which is the true meaning of the passage by other passages out of S. Cyprian himself, as well as Tertullian, S. Gregory Nazianzen, and S. Augustine;² and then concludes, "it is most evident that in the prime and principal sense,

¹ A Relation of the Conference, &c., Oxf. 1839, pp. 307, 8.

² S. Augustine speaks of men being "severed from the root of Christian Communion, which, through the chairs of the Apostles, and the succession of the Bishops, is, by an orderly course of propagation, diffused throughout the world," [*Videte certe multos præcisos a radice Christianæ Societatis, quæ per sedes Apostolorum, et successiones Episcoporum, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur.*] Ep. xlii. *ad Madaurenses*.

the Catholic Church and her unity is the head, root, or matrix of Rome, and all other particular Churches; and not Rome or any other particular, the head, root, or matrix of it." (p. 311.)

It may just be added that by a strange oversight Adn. Wilberforce translated *matrix* as *mater*, styling the Roman Church the "root and mother" of the Catholic Church,—a title which was given to the Church of Jerusalem by the second Œcumenical Council, and that in the synodical letter addressed to Damasus Bp. of Rome. [Et Ecclesia Hierosolymitana quæ aliarum omnium mater: τῆς δὲ γὰρ μητρος, &c.¹] While an Anglican Divine was yielding obedience to the Roman Church as the "mother" of the Catholic Church, it happened by a curious coincidence that in the Roman Catholic Church herself, her title to this name was disputed and denied. We find a tract issuing from the press at Turin, examining whether or no the voice of history declares that the title "mother and mistress of all Churches" belongs of right to the Church of Rome, and deciding this question in the negative.²

¹ Theod. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 9.

² See Literary Churchman, Aug. 25, 1855, p. 204.

§ 6. *Origen.*

Though Origen in chronological order should take precedence of S. Cyprian, it was thought more fitting to let the two African Fathers come together, who stood in the relation of master and scholar. The four following passages from Origen's voluminous works, are all that are adduced in support of the Roman claims, by one of the latest and most learned advocates of those claims, Professor Klee.

"But it may be asked, why St. Peter in the enumeration of the twelve is always named first? Perhaps as being superior to the others; as Judas who was assuredly the least on account of the wicked design which he harboured, is always deferred till the end," &c. In Joan, xxxii. n. 5.—"All were scandalized to that degree, that Peter, even the prince of the Apostles, thrice denied him." In Luc. Hom. xvii.—"Behold what our LORD says to him who was the great foundation of the Church the most firm rock on which Christ founded His Church—'O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?' In Exod. i. n. 4.—When to Peter the high charge of feeding the sheep was entrusted, and when on him

as the firm ground, the Church was established, the profession of no other virtue but Charity was required."—In Rom. i. v. n. 10.

But other passages occur in the writings of this greatest and most learned of the Fathers, which speak with much more direct force to the present point.

"But if you think," says Origen "the whole Church built upon Peter alone, what will you say of John, the son of thunder, or each one of the Apostles? And are we to dare to say that the gates of hell shall not prevail against Peter only, but that they shall prevail against the other Apostles and those who are perfect? Are not the quoted words, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' and 'upon this rock I will build my Church,' said of them all, and of each single one of them? Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given to Peter only, and shall no other one of the blessed men receive them? And if the words 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' are common to the others, how are not all the words, said before and said after, said, as they seem to be to Peter, also common to the others? For in that place the words, 'whatsoever thou shall bind on earth shall

be bound in heaven, &c.,’ seem as if they were spoken to Peter. But in the Gospel of John, the Saviour giving the Holy Spirit to the disciples by means of the Breath, says ‘Receive ye the Holy Ghost,’ &c.” [Comment in S. Matt. tom. xii.] And again, commenting upon the Eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, he says “But since it was necessary, although some things are said in common of Peter and those who give their brethren the three admonitions (S. Matt. xviii. 15—17), that Peter should have some special prerogative beyond those who give the three admonitions, the words, ‘I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of the heavens’ are said first of Peter, and are separate from the words ‘whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, &c.’ And yet if we should attend diligently to the words of the Evangelist, we should find even in them, and in respect of these very things which seem to be common to Peter and those who thrice admonish their brethren, a great difference and superiority in the things said to Peter above what is said to the others. For it is no small difference, that Peter should have received the keys not of one heaven, but of several heavens, and that whatsoever he should

bind on earth should be bound not in one heaven only, but in all the heavens, &c." (Tom. xiii.) "The claims of the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter to the submission of Christendom" as Dr. Moberly remarks, "must indeed have been unheard of and unknown, when a writer like Origen, searching for some point of superiority in St. Peter above the other Apostles, finds it at last in the fact that in the passage of S. Matt. xvi. 19, the word *οὐράνων* occurs in the plural number, whereas in xviii. 18, it is *οὐράνου* in the singular!"¹

In the work of the Abbè Prompsault already mentioned, occurs the following remark with reference to another passage of Origen:

"Origen telling us the different members of the Church, says, that JESUS Christ *is its Head*, the bishops the eyes, the deacons and the other ministers the hands, the people the feet, (on St. Matt. Tr. 5.) He has forgotten to tell us what the Pope is...He did not know that Christ had chosen Peter to succeed Him in His powers," (p. 67.)

¹ Disc. iii. p. 179.

§ 7. *S. Athanasius.*

Our next witness is the great S. Athanasius, who is appealed to in the following words by Dr. Milner; "We have also the great champion of orthodoxy and the Patriarch of the second See in the world S. Athanasius appealing to the Bishop of Rome, which See he terms 'the Mother and the Head of all other Churches;'" and he gives as reference "*Epist ad Marc.*" It will be sufficient, in reply, to present the opinions of two Roman Catholic writers on the Epistle in which these words occur. The famous Cardinal Bellarmine says:—"concerning the Epistles of Athanasius to Pope Marcus and of Pope Marcus to Athanasius, it appears from the mere point of time, that *these Epistles are supposititious.*"¹ And Nannius the learned translator of Athanasius places them in the third class, of which he says: "In this third class I have collected all the supposititious books, which I do *not think to be the work of Athanasius.*" [Athan. Op. om. Ep. Nuncupatoria.]

An event in the life of this great Saint, is confidently appealed to, in proof of the supre-

¹ Quoted by Bp. Hopkins on the Suprem: p. 222.

macy of the Pope. "The bishops, Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, Lucius of Adrianople, Paul of Constantinople and many others who had been again exiled by the Eusebians, now fled with St. Athanasius to the Pontiff Julius, and were by him declared innocent and orthodox, 'in a synod held in Rome, in 343.'" Such is Dr. Döllinger's account of the matter, and there is no doubt that Julius of Rome *and a synod*, having heard S. Athanasius' defence acknowledged him as the legitimate bishop of Alexandria; but there is no evidence that Julius *restored* him to his See, as is sometimes pretended. But strong light is thrown on this whole transaction by an important letter written by St. Ambrose, in the name of a council in Italy held in 381, and over which he presided. Complaining of the election of a successor to Meletius in the See of Constantinople on several grounds, he proceeds, "It was our judgment therefore that nothing should be ordered without due consideration in that council which it seemed that the Bishops of the whole world were required to attend. But at this very time what are they, who avoided a general council, said to have done at Constantino-

ple? For knowing that Maximus had come into these parts to plead his cause in a council: (which, even if a council had not been proclaimed, would have been according to the law and custom of our ancestors: as both Athanasius of holy memory and but lately Peter, Bishops of the Church of Alexandria, and most of the Orientals, did, who seem to have had recourse to the judgement of the Roman Church, of Italy, and of the whole West :) knowing as I said, that he was willing to try his cause against those who denied his being a Bishop, certainly they ought to have awaited our sentence also upon him. *We do not assume to ourselves the prerogative of examining such things, but we ought to have a share in their examination.*" Then complaining that Maximus had been rejected he proceeds: "Inasmuch as we learn that Nectarius has just been ordained at Constantinople, we see not that our communion with the Eastern countries remains firm. Nor do we see how this can be maintained, unless either he who was first ordained (Maximus) be restored to Constantinople, or at least a council of ourselves and the Orientals be held in the city of Rome respecting the ordination of the two.

For, may it please your Majesty, it does not seem too much to ask that they should undergo the consideration of the Prelate of the Roman Church and of the neighbouring and Italian Bishops, when they so far waited for the judgement of Ascholius alone as to invite him to Constantinople from the western parts (i. e., Thessalonica.) *If there was consideration for this single one, how much more should there be for so many.* As for ourselves, having received instructions from the most blessed Prince, the brother of your Piety, to write to your Gracious Majesty, we require that the judgement may be common, and the consent unanimous, where the communion is one." [S. Ambrose, Ep. 13.] Here is no recognition of any supremacy in the single Prelate of the Roman Church, he only claims that there should be consideration "*for so many,*" the "*so many*" being the Bishop of Rome and the Western Bishops, laying the decision upon the consent of numbers, and the harmony of the East and West. "It would be impossible" as Mr. Allies remarked on this passage "to state more exactly that very constitution of the Church Catholic, which we claim at present." But the object

with which this extract was made was to explain S. Athanasius' resort to the West, a fact so much relied on by Roman controversialists. St. Ambrose quite incidentally tells us why he resorted thither, i. e., as recognizing that a final decision in disputed matters lay in general agreement.

While on the life of this eminent confessor, it may be well to note how a Bishop of Rome, whom the most consistent supporters of his supremacy assert to be *infallible*, addressed S. Athanasius, on a matter relative to the faith. For thus Liberius writes to him: "Brother Athanasius, if you think in the presence of God and Christ as I do, I pray subscribe this confession, which is thought to be the true faith of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, that we may be the more certain that you think concerning the faith as we do; that I also may be persuaded without all doubting of those things which you shall be pleased to command me [*ἵνα καὶ ἐπειθὲς ὃ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι.*] S. Athan. Opp. Tom. 1. p. 397. It is impossible not to perceive the incompatibility of such language as this, with claims of ecclesiastical supremacy and infallibility.

§ 8. *S. Cyril of Jerusalem.*

Our next witness is S. Cyril the Bp. of Jerusalem who was raised to that See in the year 340, and whose Catechetical Lectures are amongst the most precious remains of Christian Antiquity. The first and most important passage adduced from his writings, is the following, which occurs in his xi. Catechetical Lecture, and is thus translated by Dr. Kenrick in his work on the "Primacy of the Apostolic See" (p. 43. Ed. 3rd). "All of them remaining silent, for the doctrine was beyond the reach of man, *Peter the Prince of the Apostles and the Supreme Herald of the Church*, not following his own inventions, nor persuaded by human reasoning, but enlightened in his mind by the Father, says to Him 'Thou art Christ' not simply this, but the 'Son of the living GOD.'" The words underlined are in the original *Πετρος ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κορυφαῖος κήρυξ*—which properly signify "Peter the *foremost* or *foreman* of the Apostles, and the *leading preacher* of the Church," as Bp. Hopkins of Vermont had translated them. The Romanist translation he

terms "a case of strong amplification." But what renders the passage utterly useless to support the cause for which it is brought forward, is the fact that S. Cyril elsewhere styles both S. Peter and S. Paul, equally, the presidents of the Church—"Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος παραγενομενοι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται," which the Latin Translator properly enough renders "*Ecclesiæ Præsules*," *Presidents*, whereas in the former passage where S. Peter alone is styled πρωτοστάτης, a term of much weaker signification, he makes *Princeps* to be its equivalent, in which he has been followed by the American Controversialist, Dr. Kenrick, as we have seen. The latter passage where the two Apostles are spoken of in equal terms, is to be found in the vi. Catechetical Lecture (§ 15), where also another expression, more than once used by S. Cyril of the Apostle Peter occurs, namely, "he who carried the keys of heaven," or as this is expressed in another passage (Cat. xvii.) "the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven;" but the context in both places most clearly shews, that S. Cyril was contemplating only *personal* privileges, for he speaks of S. Paul in conjunction with S. Peter, and contrasts them in this respect, dwelling more fully and

warmly even, in favour of the privileges of S. Paul. With S. Cyril, the two great Apostles are co-ordinate—"that celebrated pair of men" as he calls them, and while S. Peter is termed a leader of the Apostles—a foreman—a Coryphæus, terms by no means importing *jurisdiction* or *dominion*, but simply and properly, only a precedency among *equals*; he clearly recognized no distinction of power between them, when as in this place, he styled them *both* "the rulers of the Church," and in another (Cat. iv. § 35,) he calls "the Apostles (in common) and the ancient Bishops" who handed down the books of Scripture, by the same title, *προστάται*, "the rulers of the Church."

§ 9 S. Epiphanius.

S. Epiphanius bishop of Salamina in the island of Cyprus, who flourished about A. D. 370, will be cited next. He calls S. Peter "the first of the Apostles, the solid rock on which the Church was built." [In Ancorato] No better explanation of this passage, and of the general sense of S. Epiphanius on this point, can be attempted than that furnished by Abp. Laud, in his Conference with Fisher,

which I here subjoin—He says “This place, as much show as it makes for the Roman principality, I shall easily clear, and yet do no wrong either to St. Peter or the Roman Church. For most manifest it is, that the authority of St. Peter is urged here to prove the Godhead of the Holy Ghost: and then follow the elogies given to St. Peter, the better to set off and make good that authority; as that he was *princeps apostolorum* the prince of the Apostles, ‘and pronounced blessed by Christ; because as God the Father revealed to him the Godhead of the Son, so did He again the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.’ After this Epiphanius calls him ‘*solidam petram* a solid rock, upon which the Church of God was founded, against which the gates of hell should not prevail:’ and adds, ‘That the faith was rooted and made firm in him every way, in him who received the key of heaven.’ And after this he gives the reason of all; ‘because in him’ (mark, I pray, it is still *in him* as he was blessed by that revelation from God the Father S. Matt. xvi.,) ‘were found all the λεπτολογήματα, the very niceties and exactness of the Christian faith.’ For he professed the Godhead of the Son and of the

Holy Ghost, and so *omni modo*, every point of faith was rooted in him ; and this is the full meaning of that learned Father in this passage. Now therefore, building the Church upon St. Peter in Epiphanius his sense, is not as if he and his successors were to be monarchs over it for ever ; but it is the edifying and establishing the Church in the true faith of Christ by the confession which St. Peter made. And so he expresses himself elsewhere most plainly ; (Hæres. lib. ii. 59, contra Catharos. Tom. 1. p. 500,) ‘St. Peter,’ saith he ‘who was made to us indeed a solid rock firming the faith of our LORD. On which (rock) the Church is built *juxta omnem modum*, every way. First, that he confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, and by and by he heard *upon this rock* of solid faith *I will build my Church* : and the same confession he made of the Holy Ghost.’ Thus was St. Peter a solid rock upon which the Church was founded *omni modo*, every way ; that is, the faith of the Church was confirmed by him in every point, [περί τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁ αὐτὸς ἀσφαλίζεται ἡμᾶς—Ibid]. But that St. Peter was any rock or foundation of the Church, so as that he and his successors must

be relied on in all matters of faith, and govern the Church like princes or monarchs, that Epiphanius never thought of. And that he never did think so, I prove it thus: for, beside this apparent meaning of his context, (as is here expressed) how could he possibly think of a supremacy due to St. Peter's successor, that in most express terms, and that twice repeated, makes St. James the brother of our LORD, and not St. Peter, succeed our LORD in the principality of the Church? And Epiphanius was too full both of learning and industry to speak contrary to himself in a point of this moment," pp. 154, 155, Ed. 1839. The passages alluded to above are given in the note at the foot of the page—"Ille primus (speaking of St. James the LORD's brother) episcopalem cathedram cæpit, quum ei ante cæteros omnes suum in terris thronum Dominus tradidisset." Epiph. Hæres. lit. iii. 78, tom. ii. p. 1039. Et fere similiter tom. i. lib. 1. Hæres. 29.

§ 10. *S. Chrysostome.*

This eminent Doctor and most eloquent Preacher of the Church, flourished in the fourth century. Of the passages adduced from

his voluminous writings, only a few deserve examination. The first that Dr. Kenrick brings forward, is from his exposition of the promise to S. Peter on his confession. "How does Peter act" asks S. Chrysostome, "the mouth of all the Apostles, the summit of the whole College?" which Dr. K. prints in capitals. But the passage in the original stands thus, "Τί οὖν τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ Πέτρος, ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμός, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος;" which would bear being more literally translated, "what then saith the mouth of the Apostles, Peter, *the ever fervent*, the leader of the choir of apostles?" The omission of ὁ πανταχοῦ θερμός by Dr. Kenrick, is significant, as implying at all events that there was something in S. Peter's ready zeal and forwardness—that "springing forward and anticipating others" (προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνει), which Chrysostome mentions immediately after in connexion with this, and which would account for his place among the Apostles, and the titles and epithets conferred on him, with reference to this spirit, by Christian writers. The attempt to turn "the leader (κορυφαῖος) of the choir of Apostles" into "the summit of the *whole* college" is, to say the least of it, unfair. That

the application of the term *κορυφαῖος* to S. Peter, had no reference in S. Chrysostome's mind to any such supremacy as is now claimed for the Apostle, is evident from the fact that it is applied equally to S. Paul. Thus in Tom. ix. p. 757, A. B. of S. Chrysostome's works we find him speaking of S. Paul as *του τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖον ὄντα καὶ προστάτην*—and he reckons both S. Peter and S. Paul as the Pillars of the Church, *τοὺς στῦλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτους*.

In the exposition of the text of S. Matt. xvi. wherein S. Chrysostome expressly teaches that the Rock is the faith of S. Peter's confession (*ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τουτέστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας*) "and upon this rock will I build my Church that is on the faith of his confession" [Hom. liv. p. 108.]; he yet is found to use words which have been made much of. Thus, while contrasting Jeremiah the Prophet with the Apostle, he writes, "as the Father speaking to Jeremiah said, He would make him as 'a brazen pillar and as a wall;' but him to one nation only, this man in every part of the world" [*τούτον δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης*], which Dr. Kenrick rather pleonastically translates, "But the Father set him over one nation: HE

PLACED THIS MAN OVER THE ENTIRE WORLD." The capitals are Dr. Kenrick's. It is hardly necessary to observe that the contrast in S. Chrysostome's apprehension as manifest by his words, is between Jeremiah as the Prophet sent to a particular nation, and the Apostle as endowed in common with the rest of his brethren with a commission to the whole world. "Go ye into all the world" (S. Mark, xvi. 15,) were the words that conveyed the Apostolic commission common to the Twelve, and no attempt to make S. Chrysostome appear as implying the supremacy of S. Peter, can prove successful, so long as fair criticism is respected, and consistency with a writer's own teaching in other parts of his works is regarded. S. Chrysostome while undoubtedly using high titles of honour respecting S. Peter, meant not to invest him with supremacy over his fellow Apostles or to exclude them from sharing the like titles; for though not only in the passage now under consideration, but in two others, also adduced by Dr. Kenrick, he speaks highly of the Apostle, and terms him "the Doctor of the whole world," and one "to whom the Lord gave the Presidency of the Church throughout the

whole earth,"—yet elsewhere writing of S. John with Peter he says, "They were about to receive the charge of the whole world [*ἐμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι*], they were not for the future to be joined together: for this would have been a great loss to the world." (In Joan Hom. lxxxviii. Tom. viii. p. 528); and so of S. Paul, he says, "unto Michael is committed the nation of the Jews; but land and sea and all the habitation of the world is committed unto Paul" (De Laud. Paul. Ap. Hom. iii. Tom. ii. p. 486.) In exact accordance with this, S. Cyril of Alexandria calls all the Apostles *doctors of the whole world*. For, speaking of the confession made by S. Thomas, "*My Lord and my God*," he says "To him who so believed and was thus disposed at the end of the Gospel He says, go and make disciples all nations. But if He bids one who thought thus to make disciples all nations, and appoints him *Ecumenical Doctor*, He willeth that we should have no other faith." (S. Cyr. opp. Tom 4. p. 1109, D.) And again in commenting on the Apostolic commission in these words, "As my Father sent me even so send I you," S. Cyril says, "In these words our LORD JESUS Christ elected the guides and

teachers of the world, and the stewards of His Divine mysteries, whom He bids forthwith to shine like lights, and to illumine not merely the land of the Jews according to the measure of the legal command stretching from Dan to Beersheba, as it is written, but rather all that is beneath the sun, and those that are in all countries scattered, and there dwelling." Ib. Tom. 4. p. 1093, E.

When the language of S. Chrysostome, in all the various passages in which he has had occasion to speak of S. Peter is fairly weighed, it will be clear to any unprejudiced mind, that while he generally accords to him the first place in order and rank among the Apostles, he recognizes no supremacy in him above the rest of his brethren. The highest authority to S. Chrysostome, was the Apostolate, as shared by the Twelve, and perpetuated to the Church in her Episcopate, derived from the Apostles. "Whence is it manifest" he asks, "that *the Apostle is before all others*; and that as the consul amongst earthly magistrates so the Apostle hath the pre-eminence in spirituals? Let us hear S. Paul" he continues, "enumerating the authorities and setting that of the Apostles in the highest place. What does he say

then ? ‘ God placed some in the Church *first Apostles*, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers and pastors, then gifts of healing !’ See you *the summit of dignities* ? See you *the Apostle sitting on high, and no one before or above him* : for he says ‘ First Apostles : ’ ” and he adds, that “ the Apostolate is not only the first of dignities, but the root and foundation of all others.” [Hom. de Util. Lect. Scrip. Tom. iii. p. 75]. S. Chrysostome’s appeal to Pope Innocent against his deposition by Theophilus Bp. of Alexandria, was only in accordance with the Patriarchal system, and does not prove the Roman Bishop’s monarchy, as duplicates of that appeal were sent at the same time, to the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia.

§ 11. S. Jerome.

Our next witness shall be the great translator and expositor of the Holy Scriptures in the Western Church. The passage most frequently brought forward from his writings, is that which occurs in his letter to Pope Damasus, wherein he says, “ Let it not appear invidious : let the pomp of Roman majesty withdraw : I speak with the successor of the

fisherman and a disciple of the Cross. I who follow no one as chief (Primum) except Christ, am united in communion with your Holiness (or I am of the communion of your holiness), that is with the chair of Peter: on that rock I know that the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of this house is profane. Whoever was not in the ark of Noe, must perish in the deluge." Thus far Dr. Kenrick, in his quotation of this passage; a few words more that follow help to throw some light on its meaning. "I know not Vitalis (the Apollinarian); Meletius I reject; Paulinus is unknown to me (or I am ignorant of Paulinus). Whoso gathereth not with *thee* scattereth; that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antichrist." [Ep. xv. Damaso.] The words that precede this passage, also deserve consideration. The divisions at Antioch had caused serious confusion; there were two Bishops in the See, one in connexion with the East, and the other with Egypt and the West. In this state of things S. Jerome, applies to Damasus the Bp. of Rome as his own Bishop, calling himself in this very letter "a man of Rome," and writing with the feelings of a Western colonized as it were in an unknown land, and inquires which of the

Bishops at Antioch was acknowledged by him with whom as a matter of fact the Catholic Church was then in communion, and of whose See there was at the time no suspicion of heresy. For thus spoke S. Jerome, in the passage preceding, "Whilst the bad children have wasted their goods, the inheritance of the Fathers is preserved uncorrupt among you alone. There the earth from its fertile bosom returns the pure seed of the Lord a hundred-fold: here the grain buried in the furrows degenerates into darnel and tares. *At present* the Sun of Righteousness rises in the West, but in the East that fallen Lucifer hath placed his throne above the stars. You are the light of the world: you are the salt of the earth: you the vessels of gold and silver: but here the vessels of earth or wood await the iron rod and the eternal flame. *Therefore* though your greatness terrifies me, yet your kindness invites me," and then follow the words quoted above, as translated by Dr. Kenrick. Taken in connexion with the context, and understood as the language of one related, as S. Jerome was, to the Roman see, the complimentary expression used towards Damasus its Bishop, will afford little real support to the present

Roman claims. Similar and even stronger language was used by S. Basil towards S. Athanasius, on the same subject of the distracted Church of Antioch, and the words employed by Liberius the Bishop of Rome himself, in addressing S. Athanasius already adduced,¹ show that no argument can safely be built on expressions that occur in the course of correspondence, and whose force is considerably modified by circumstances. It must be admitted however, I think, that S. Jerome does seem to consider that S. Peter had an office for the sake of preserving unity among the Apostles, and in this respect, he and Optatus are the only writers of antiquity that appear to have held even so much. Comparing the excellences of S. Peter and S. John, he writes, "But as you say that upon Peter the Church was founded, *though that same thing was done in another place upon all the Apostles, and all of them* receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is founded *upon them equally with him*"; still, one is therefore chosen among the twelve, that by the appointment of a head occasion of schism

¹ See page 59.

may be taken away. But why was not John chosen, who was a virgin? Deference was paid to age, because Peter was the elder. Peter was an Apostle, and John was an Apostle, the first married, the second a virgin. But Peter was nothing else than an Apostle (*Apostolus tantum*); John was both an Apostle and an Evangelist, and a prophet, &c." (Adv. Jov. i. p. 168). But even in this passage S. Jerome may mean to imply that unity was commended and shewn forth in the words to S. Peter and no more, for he recognizes the Episcopate as the highest order and power in the Church, and the unity of the Church as dependent upon it and not on any particular head, as the law of its existence. Thus in arguing with the Luciferians, S. Jerome says: "whosoever is baptized but by the hands of the Bishop, receives not the Holy Spirit, which in valid Baptism, we believe to be imparted. The integrity of the Church *hangs upon the dignity of the Chief Priest*: to whom, if men do not concede a certain peculiar and eminent authority, *there will spring up in the Church as many schisms as priests.*"¹

¹ "Si hoc loco quæris, quare in Ecclesia baptizatus nisi per manus episcopi non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, Quem

One passage more from S. Jerome will throw a light on his general teaching. "The Church of Rome is not to be thought one thing" he says, "and that of the whole world another. Gaul, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and Judæa, and all the barbarian nations, adore also one Christ and observe the same rule of truth. *If authority is sought for, the world is greater than one city.* [Si autoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe.] Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople or Rhegium or Alexandria or Tanis: *he is of the same excellency, of the same Episcopate* [ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii]. The power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty does not make a bishop either less or greater. For they are all the successors of the Apostles. [Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt]."

omnes asserimus in vero baptismo tribui: disce hanc observationem ex ea autoritate discendere qua post ascensum Domini Spiritus Sanctus ad apostolos descendit. Et multis in locis idem factum reperimus, ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legis necessitatem ... ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes." Op. tom. ii. p. 137.

§ 12. *S. Augustine.*

The next witness whose testimony in the question before us is to be ascertained is S. Augustine, the greatest Doctor of the Western Church, and one of the most voluminous of Christian writers. The examination of a few passages ordinarily produced from his works will hardly be sufficient to enable us to form an estimate of the real weight of his evidence in the matter under consideration. We shall therefore consider 1. S. Augustine's interpretation of the celebrated text S. Matt. xvi. 18. 2. His teaching regarding the Church and its unity, and 3 The amount of importance he attached to the See of Rome, and his own feelings towards it.

1. *His interpretation of S. Matt. xvi. 18.*

In the "Retractations" of S. Augustine, which were his latest and most mature thoughts, occur these remarkable words: "At the same period of my presbyterate I wrote my book against the Epistle of Donatus who was the second Bishop of the Donatists after Majorinus at Carthage. In that Epistle he maintained that the baptism of Christ should be con-

sidered as existing only in his communion. To this I replied, and in one passage, I spoke of the Apostle Peter, that the Church was founded on him as on a rock. This sense is sung by the mouth of many in the verses of the blessed Ambrose, where he says of the cock, *Hoc ipsa Petra ecclesiæ canente culpam diluit.* But I know that afterwards I often explained what was said by the Lord, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, thus: that it should be understood *upon Him whom Peter confessed*, saying *'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God,'* and thus *Peter being named from this Rock* might figure the Person of the Church which is built upon this Rock, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For it was not said to him *thou art Petra (Rock)* but *thou art Petrus (Peter)*. Christ was the Rock whom Simon confessing *just as the whole Church confesses Him*, was called Petrus. Of these two opinions let the reader choose that which is more probable."¹ *Retract. lib. i. 21.*

.. "Non enim dictum est illi *Tu es Petra*; sed *Tu es Petrus. Petra autem erat Christus, quem confessus Simon sicut eum tota Ecclesia confitetur dictus est Petrus.* Harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector."

opp. tom. i. p. 67. Paris, 1836. According to this interpretation, the Church was figuratively called *Peter* confessing Christ as Simon did, and founded on Christ the Petra or Rock from which Petrus is named. This is what S. Augustine, in numberless passages of his works adopts as his own interpretation, but even supposing that he used both interpretations commonly, the very declaration that the adoption of one or the other is indifferent, shows that he did not lay any stress upon the personal reference to S. Peter as involving doctrine. Let the reader choose which he thinks the more probable is a permission, which can relate to a matter of *opinion*, and not of *faith*.

The constant teaching of S. Augustine, repeated and enforced again and again throughout his works, is that Christ Himself is the Rock, and that upon Him Peter, the representative of the Church, is built. S. Augustine saw four terms, as it were,—the Rock: the Church: our LORD: Peter. Our LORD is himself the Rock and upon Him, Peter—i. e. all members of the Church or the Church collectively, is built. His doctrine with regard

to the keys is the same. We will now illustrate these points by a few extracts, premising only beforehand that it seems necessary before the Roman theory can derive any support from S. Augustine's teaching, that it must be reversed, and S. Peter be considered to represent not the body but the head.

To begin then, we have in the following passage S. Augustine's principle of interpretation very clearly laid down. "For it is evident" he says "that Peter in many places of the Scriptures represents the Church (*personam gestet Ecclesiae*), chiefly in that place where it is said 'I give unto thee keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' What! did Peter receive those keys and Paul not receive them? Did Peter receive them, and John and James not receive them and the rest of the Apostles? or are not those keys in the Church where sins are daily remitted? But since in meaning hinted but not expressed (in significatione), Peter was representing the Church, what was given to him simply was given to the Church. So then, Peter bore the figure

of the Church: the Church is the body of Christ." S. Aug. Opp. Tom v. p. 1019, B.

To take another passage in which the text of S. Matthew, is handled. "And I say unto thee because thou hast said to ME; thou hast spoken, now hear; thou hast given a confession, receive a blessing; therefore and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; because I am the Rock thou art Peter; for neither from Peter is the Rock, but from the Rock, Peter; because not from the Christian is Christ, but from Christ the Christian. And upon this rock I will build my Church; *not upon Peter which thou art, but upon the Rock which thou hast confessed.* But I will build my Church, I will build thee who in this answer representest the Church." Tom. v. p. 1604, B.

Again, in a passage which conveys the old view of S. Cyprian that every Bishop's chair is the chair of S. Peter, "For as some things are said which would seem to belong personally to the Apostle Peter, yet cannot be clearly understood unless when they are referred to the Church, which he is admitted, in figure, to have represented, on account of the primacy which he held among the disciples—as is, I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom

of heaven; and if there be any such like." Tom iv. p. 1733, B.

Again, "For Peter himself to whom He entrusted His sheep as to another self He willed to make one with Himself, so that He might entrust His sheep to him; *that He might be the Head, the other bear the figure of the body* that is the Church; and that as man and wife they might be two in one flesh." Tom. v. p. 345, C. Which S. Augustine elsewhere explains more fully, "Therefore to Peter whom He wished to make a good shepherd, He saith, *not in the person of that individual Peter but as in His own Body*, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep. This He saith once, this twice, this a third time so as even to cause him sorrow:" and further on, "Understand then how the LORD JESUS Christ is both Door and Shepherd: Door by opening Himself, Shepherd by entering through Himself. And indeed, Brethren in that He is a shepherd He hath bestowed this on His members: for both Peter is a shepherd, and Paul a shepherd, and the other Apostles are shepherds, and good Bishops are shepherds." Tom iii. p. 2146 and 2147, C.

Once more "As in the Apostles the number

itself being twelve, that is four divisions into three,"—(by which S. Augustine seems to mean, that there was a mystical universality betokened in the number four, as a mystical unity in the number three,)—"and all being asked Peter alone answered, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And it is said to him, I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven *as if he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; the case really being that he singly said that in the name of all, and received this together with all, as representing unity itself; therefore one in the name of all, because unity is in all.*" Tom. iii. p. 2438, A. "*For these keys*" says S. Augustine emphatically "*not one man, but the unity of the Church received*" [*Has enim claves non homo unus, sed unitas accepit ecclesiæ*"] Tom. v. p. 1756, B. Which corresponds somewhat with the teaching of his spiritual guide in earlier life S. Ambrose, who wrote "*Faith therefore is the foundation of the Church, for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, that the gates of death should not prevail against it, but the confession (of faith) overcame hell.*" S. Ambros. op. Tom ii. p. 711.

We may conclude these extracts from S. Augustine, exhibiting as they do his uniform and constant teaching, with this question put by Mr. Allies before he learnt to close his eyes to it, "Is it for nothing, I would ask here that God directed Augustine, so largely endowed by His grace among the Saints and Fathers of His Church, thus pointedly to exclude that very interpretation on which late Roman writers build? Is it not a great witness and beacon-light of the truth that he, speaks so often, so uniformly and so decisively on this passage, seeing in it the deepest spiritual meaning, and that a meaning opposed to the one set on it by modern Rome?" (Allies, 2d ed. p. 113—4.)

To all this mass of evidence showing S. Augustine's mind and constant teaching regarding S. Peter, Dr. Kenrick, in his work on the "Primacy of the Apostolic See" opposes the following statement—"Peter is said to represent the Church; but evidently in his official character as pastor of the whole flock, and in this respect he becomes, as it were one with Christ as the Church is one with her Divine spouse, by the mysterious union of faith and love. It gives us the greatest idea

of his authority to say emphatically that Peter is the Church." (p. 79. 3d Edit.) How inconsistent such a construction of S. Augustine's meaning is with his own express and guarded words, such as are to be found in nearly every one of the passages now extracted, must be apparent to any unprejudiced reader. "*Not one man, but the unity of the Church*" says S. Augustine, "received the keys," and if it was to S. Peter that our LORD entrusted His sheep, S. Augustine takes care to explain that it was not to S. Peter alone—"that which was entrusted to Peter, that which was commanded to Peter, not Peter only (non Petrus solus) but likewise *all the Apostles heard, held, and kept.*" Tom. v. p. 1763. But the best reply to Dr. Kenrick, may be furnished in the words of one of the greatest Divines of his own communion. BOSSUET says, "It is asked, in what sense was Peter the figure of the Church? as a naked sign? or as a certain part of the Church? or as her superior? We answer with readiness that Christ was pleased that the Church should be figured in Peter as in the chief. But that he represented the Church in such a sense as to include her whole power and authority as in-

herent in and present to himself, *which is peculiar to an universal council*, no saint whatever, not Augustine, not any other of the Holy Fathers, imagined”¹

2. S. Augustine's teaching regarding the Church, and its unity.

The formal notion of the Church as expressed by Bellarmine, will enable us to see by contrast the difference, between the teaching of S. Augustine and modern Rome, on this subject. Bellarmine defines it to be “a congregation of men bound by common profession and sacraments, under legitimate pastors especially the pope”—“*cætus hominum ejusdem Christianæ fide professione et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatus, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum et præcipue unius Christi in terris vicarii Romani Pontificis.*” Subjection to the Roman Pontiff as the one vicar of Christ upon earth, is the essential principle of the unity of the Church according to this teaching, the Church wherever extended is but a unit, and the Pope is the essence of the Church.

¹ Def. lib. 8. c. 19, (quoted by Allies, p. 121.)

The Catholicity of the Church, its *diffusiveness*, is a common topic with S. Augustine, and we shall have to remark on the use he makes of it as an argument in his disputes with the Donatists, but its unity as springing from subjection to the Pope, is an idea altogether alien to his mind and teaching.

"We are one" he says "in Christ, we are the Body of Christ who desire that alone (the law of God) who seek that alone, &c." In Psalm xxvi. En. ii. n. 23. Tom iv. p. 184, B. Here unity flows from holiness.

Again in his beautiful exposition of the xliv. Psalm (our 45th) there are many striking passages illustrative of his view of the Church, and evincing how little he knew of the present Roman idea of it. Thus on the 10 v. he says, "Understand by the king's daughters those cities which have believed in Christ, and which have been founded by kings. Shew me the temple of Romulus in Rome in so great honour as I will shew you there the memory of Peter. And who is honoured in Peter but He that died for us? For we are Christian men and not Peter's men [*sumus enim Christiani non Petrini*]." He then adds "Behold Rome, behold Carthage, behold other and

other cities are king's daughters, and they have delighted their king in his honour, and out of all does there become one Queen as it were." [*et ex omnibus fit una quadam Regina*] Tom. iv. p. 559, B. and C.

And so again in the following section, "The queen stood on thy right hand in gilded clothing surrounded with variety.' This clothing of the queen, what is it? It is precious and various: the mysteries of doctrine, that is in various tongues. One tongue is African, another Syrian, another Greek, another Hebrew, and so forth one language differing from another; these tongues constitute the variety of this queen's clothing, and as all the variety of the clothing concurs in unity, so are all tongues united in *the one faith*. [*Quomodo autem omnis varietas vestis in unitate concordat, sic et omnes linguæ ad unam fidem*] In the clothing there is variety, there is no rent. We have understood the variety of diversity of language, and the clothing to mean unity. But in the [variety what is the gold? Wisdom. Whatever be the variety of language *one* gold [*unum aurum*] is spoken of, not a diversity of golds, but a variety adorning the same gold, all tongues proclaim the same wisdom,

the same doctrine, the same discipline; the variety is in the language, the gold in their opinions." Tom. iv. p. 560, A. Unity in these passages is evidenced by agreement of doctrine, in holding the profession of the same creeds.

Thus again S. Augustine says, "The Church, is the house of God. But this house is not built in one corner of the earth, but through all the earth" [*sed per omnem terram.*] Tom. ii. p. 688, B.

And again, "The Body of Christ is the Church. But who are the supporters of the Church, unless it be the Apostles, who are also called pillars." Ib. p. 649. And solemn are his words in the epistle from which an extract has already been made, when he says, "we are in that Church which by the favour of God though stretched out and diffused everywhere throughout the whole world is yet one great Body of one great Head, which Head is its Saviour Himself as the Apostle says." [*unum tamen corpus est magnum unius capitis magni quod caput ejus est ipse Salvator sicut Apostolus dicit.*] Tom. ii. Ep. cxlii. p. 688, A. We have in these extracts, which might be multiplied to any extent, a true

and simple description of the Catholic Church, without the slightest allusion to the domination of the Roman See, or the headship of the Vicar of Christ, which according to the Roman view is indispensable.

One point however remains for consideration. It is certain that S. Augustine uses the argument from the Catholicity and unity of the Church in such a way as to require the active intercommunion of Churches, or of the various branches of the one Church, to be absolutely necessary as a note of the Church. The Church was, in the times of the Fathers as a matter of fact, united, not only as regards the continuity of Apostolic commission and life in its several parts, but also as regards unity of will and intercourse with each other. At least such was the general state of things, and it proved to be so in S. Augustine's days, especially when the Donatist Schism by its exclusiveness and littleness helped to show the vastness and solidity of the rest of the Catholic world. It then appeared that a particular note of the Church lay against a party, and this would of course be an especially strong presumption against that party. It is not surprizing then that a fortunate cir-

cumstance in the temporal condition of the Church, was raised to the importance and cogency of an *essential* note, especially when that condition was to some extent a fulfillment of prophecy. S. Augustine, therefore, under the influence of this view, thought and wrote in his controversy with the Donatists, as if it was a fixed notion or principle with him, that the universal Church is right in a quarrel with a particular Church. "The whole does ever, by the best of rights, take precedence of the parts." De Bapt. contra Donat. ii. 14, and in like manner he elsewhere says "Securus judicat orbis terrarum." contra Epist. Parmen, iii. 24. Now his maxim regarding the authority of the *orbis terrarum* was true in his age, and therefore rightly used by him; but it cannot be turned into an argument against the position of our Church, for instance, in the present divided state of Christendom. For it is not that we stand alone, separated from an unbroken compacted body forming the rest of the Christian world. The existence of the orthodox Greek Church alone, with her hierarchy and ninety millions of souls, severed from what claims to be *the* Catholic Church, disproves and nullifies those

claims, and "there is now," as it has been well remarked, "no orbis terrarum, over against which we stand; none which has rejected or condemned us."

But independently of this reference of S. Augustine's principle, it is quite evident that while he asserts the general Church's judgment to be final against particular branches, he equally insists on its being above the decision of the Pope. He makes it final both against individual branches, *and* against the Pope, and his principle hitherto considered cannot therefore be used by Romanists against us, as being fatal to their own doctrine. This deference of S. Augustine to the Universal Church implied no submission to Rome, and no recognition of any supreme power in its Bishop over other Bishops, further than a mere precedency of order and rank. For instance he speaks in the following manner of Pope Stephen's controversy with S. Cyprian about heretical baptism: "The obscurity of this question caused in the early ages of the church, before the schism of Donatus, such controversy and fluctuation, as far as peace would allow, in great men and endowed with great charity, that for a long

while there was uncertainty in the decrees of councils in distinct places, until by a plenary Council of the whole world the most sound view was confirmed to the removal of all doubt." De Bapt. i. 9, Tom. ix. p. 165, A. In his letter to Glorius and others, having said that Melchiades the Pope of the day had in council condemned Donatus, S. Augustine proceeds to say: "Let us suppose that those bishops who gave sentence at Rome, were not fair judges; *there still remained a plenary council of the universal Church, in which the cause might be argued against those very judges*, in order that if they had been convicted of wrong judgement, *their sentence might be reversed.*" Ep. xlii. 19, Tom. ii. p. 144, B. And he thus speaks against Petilian, "Whatever Marcellinus was or Marcellus or Silvester or Melchiades" (these were Popes) "or Mensurius or Cæcilian, and others, to whom in their defence they object what they please, *this does nothing prejudice the Catholic Church diffused over the whole world*; we in no measure are victorious in their innocence, in no measure are found guilty in their iniquity." De unic. Bap. 30. Tom. ix. p. 826 B.

Strongly but not the less truly did Mr.

Newman observe after producing these passages when in the English Communion and writing in defence of the "Catholicity of the English Church,"—"It is a plain matter of fact then, that as far as the constitution of the Church is concerned, the separation between Rome and England does not constitute so great a difference from the age of St. Cyprian, as does the ecclesiastical monarchy of Hildebrand from the age of St. Augustine." (Brit. Critic. No. liii. p. 71, 2.)

3. *Examination of passages in S. Augustine's works bearing reference to the See of Rome.*

A passage commonly adduced in this controversy regarding the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, occurs in one of S. Augustine's Epistles on the Donatist disputes. "That city (Carthage) had a bishop of no slight authority, who was able not to heed the multitudes of enemies conspiring against him, when he saw himself united by letters of communion both with the Roman Church, *in which the primacy of the Apostolic chair has always flourished* [in qua semper Apostolicæ Cathe-

dræ viguit principatus], and with other lands."

Ep. xliii. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 136.

This passage, it will be remembered, occurred in the course of the Donatist controversy as already observed, when first the appeal to [the genuine and Apostolical succession of the Roman Church was made, *not* against the equally genuine and Apostolical successions of other Catholic Churches in the East and elsewhere, *but* against the rival and schismatical succession of the Donatists themselves. In Ep. liii. S. Augustine himself says, "If the order of Bishops succeeding to each other is to be considered, how much more certainly (*certius*) and beneficially do we reckon from Peter himself to whom" (here again is S. Augustine's ordinary interpretation) "bearing a figure of the Church, the Lord says 'Upon this rock I will build my Church.'" Tom. ii. p. 180, C. The appeal is made to the Roman succession as being more *certain* and well known in the West, for whilst all the Churches founded by the Apostles or Apostolical men were ever afterwards known as Apostolical chairs—*Cathedræ Apostolicæ*—of which there several in the East such as Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus and others; Rome

stood alone in the West as the single Apostolic See. Hence the Roman Church in the West was singly and more peculiarly known as the Apostolical Church of those parts. She thus enjoyed the exclusive privilege in the West, but shared it equally with other Churches in the East which were founded by the Apostles, whom S. Irenæus terms, "the twelve pillared foundation of the Church." [Adv. Hær. lib. iv. cap. 21. p. 258, Massuet.] Thus also Tertullian speaks of the "*Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præident.*" [De Præscript. c. 36]. All Apostolical Churches therefore would naturally enjoy a *principatus*, because in them the "*Cathedræ Apostolorum præident,*" and Rome more particularly as being the See of S. Peter, the first among his co-equal brethren in the Apostolate, and who was honoured by having been chosen to "bear the figure of the Church," and to represent and commend unity by that choice. But that the term "*principatus*" in S. Augustine's mind was significant of no supremacy of power or authority, is evident by his using it with reference to others besides S. Peter or his See. Thus he says "*Ipse caput*

et Princeps Apostolorum" speaking not of S. Peter, but of S. Paul. [Tom. iii. p. 2313.] And again "(Paulus) tanti Apostolatus meruit *principatum*." [Tom. x. p. 257]. In fact the *principatus* of all the Apostolic Sees was a thing so well understood, as not involving any right of jurisdiction peculiar to Rome, that Pope Pelagius himself, when on his defence either to king Childebert or to the Bishops of Etruria, quotes the authority of S. Augustine, who "mindful of the Lord's judgment by which He set the foundation of the Church on the Apostolic Sees, declares that whosoever detaches himself from the authority or communion of the Prelate of *those* Sees is in Schism: and proves that there is no other Church save that which is solidly rooted on *the Pontiffs of Apostolic Sees*." (Mansi 9. 716, C.)

The next passage for consideration is thus translated by Dr. Wiseman, in an article in the Dublin Review, (vol. vii. p. 168.)

"Come brethren if you wish to be engrafted in the vine.

"It grieves us to see you thus lie cut off.

"Number the priests in ("ab," *from*) the very Chair of Peter,

"And see in that order of Fathers who succeeded the other.

"This is the Rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not."

Opp. Tom. ix. p. 1.

These lines occur in a somewhat lengthy Poem or Psalm, which S. Augustine composed for popular use in the Donatist troubles. It will be perceived that Dr. Wiseman understands them of the local see of S. Peter at Rome, and he has translated *ab* "in" to favour his view. But it seems more probable (and the supposition is undoubtedly most consistent with S. Augustine's own uniform teaching throughout the rest of his works) that he here meant to refer to the succession of the Episcopacy in the church generally, and especially to that of the see of Carthage, according to that earlier teaching of S. Cyprian, that the Chair of S. Peter, as a centre of unity, exists in the Episcopate of every Catholic Church. Thus S. Optatus addressing Parmenianus the Donatist bishop of Carthage, says: "Inquire into the origin of these matters, and you will find that you have condemned yourself, when you have associated schismatics with heretics. For Cæcilianus did not go out from Majorinus your predecessor, but Majorinus from Cæcilianus; nor did Cæcilianus depart from the Episcopal Chair of *Peter or of Cyprian* [*à Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani*] but Majorinus, whose chair you occupy." Optat. de Schism.

Don. lib. 1. p. 10. ed. Du Pin. It may be added, that Du Pin, the candid Roman Catholic editor, supports this very view derived from S. Cyprian in his edition of S. Optatus' work.

S. Augustine's words therefore, "See in that order of Fathers who succeeded the other," would seem to allude to the fact that Cæcilianus was the successor of Mensurius and the other preceding bishops of Carthage; and where this legitimate succession is found, there, continues S. Augustine is "the rock," &c., that is, the true church. Whether this be the sense of the passage or not, it is certain that he never recurs to the use of similar language throughout his numerous writings against the Donatists, and if it is asserted that S. Augustine meant to argue with the Donatists in the lines adduced, that they were schismatics because they were not in communion with the See of Rome, all that need be said in reply is, that he could not have attached any weight to such an argument, as we do not find it urged by him in any of his books and regular treatises produced by the controversy. It was well said by Mr. Allies when he was in the English Church, "I know not whether what St. Augustine says, or what he

does not say, is strongest against the present Roman claim; but I think his *silence* in his book "De Unitate Ecclesiæ" absolutely convincing to any candid mind."—Allies, p. 147.

We find indeed that S. Augustine refers to the succession of the Roman See being the only Apostolical Seat of the West in his liii. Epistle already noticed, (p. 95, *supra*), and in another place arguing against a Manichæan, after detailing various grounds for residing in the Catholic Church, he adds, "I, am held by that succession of the Priesthood which extends from the seat of Peter the Apostle, to whom our LORD commended His sheep to be fed after His resurrection even to the present Episcopate." [Tom. .viii. p. 269.] We have seen already in what sense S. Augustine taught that the sheep were entrusted to S. Peter, and this may be illustrated by numerous other passages in his writings, but in both the passages now under consideration the mere affirmation on the part of S. Augustine, that the Roman Bishop contemporary with himself was S. Peter's successor, cannot prove any thing except it can be made clear that he meant in the Headship, and not simply in the local Episcopate of Rome. That S. Augustine



could not have meant the Primacy in the sense of that vicarial Primacy by virtue of which the Primate is the sole representative of Christ, and the Divinely appointed instrument of securing the unity of the Church, is at once made evident by the words almost immediately following the passage first mentioned: "But suppose" he says, "that some *traditor* had during this time crept into the line of Bishops which is drawn from Peter himself to Anastasius who now holds the same chair, yet no harm could have been done to the Church, and innocent Christians, whom *the LORD has cared for* by saying about bad rulers, 'Do what they say, but do not what they do, for they say and do not:' *that the hope of the faithful may be sure, which by being placed not in man but in the LORD* can never be dissipated by the storm of impious schism." Ep. liii. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 181, A. But if he had believed that each of these Bishops was by Divine right the peculiar representative of Christ, with whom to be in unity was to be in unity with Christ, he must have conceived that considerable harm would have come to the Church by his being a *traditor*. The fact is that S. Augustine is enumerating

in both passages those who succeeded in the local See of Rome as Bishops: there is not a hint of Supremacy of any kind.

§ 13. *S. Cyril of Alexandria.*

This great luminary of the Eastern Church, who was Bishop of Alexandria from 412 to 444, has left large commentaries on Scripture, in which his interpretation of those passages which are made to support the Papal Supremacy, is given very fully and clearly. He says indeed of S. Peter, that "from the figure of the rock He (our Lord) changed his name to Peter, for upon him did He design to found His Church." [In Joan, i. 40]. But we are not left in doubt as to the sense in which this was to be understood. "For this reason" he says elsewhere, "the divine word tells us that Peter, the chosen among the holy Apostles, was blessed. For when the Saviour, being in the parts of Cesarea Philippi, inquired, whom do men say that the Son man is, and what report concerning Him hath gone through the land of the Jews, or the cities bordering on Judæa, discarding the puerile and unseemly opinions of the vul-

gar, with great wisdom and understanding he cried out, saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, and speedily received the recompense of his true conception concerning Him, Christ saying, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. *Calling, I imagine, nothing else the rock, in allusion to his name, but the immoveable and most stable faith of the disciple,* on which the Church of Christ is founded and fixed without danger of falling, and remains for ever inexpugnable to the very gates of hell." [De Trin. 4. Tom. v. 507]. So again, "But why say we that they are named foundations of the earth? For the foundation and immoveable support of all is Christ, Who upholds all, and binds together all that is built on Him solidly. For on Him are we all built, a spiritual house, jointed together through the Spirit unto a holy temple, His dwelling-place. For He dwelleth in our hearts through faith. But Apostles and Evangelists, who were eye-witnesses and

ministers of the word, and have become a confirmation of faith, may be considered the next adjoining foundations and nearer to Him than we. For, when we have resolved that it is our duty to follow their traditions, we shall maintain our faith in Christ straight and unperturbed. For, in a certain place, when the divine Peter wisely and unblamably confessing his faith in Him said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, it was said by Him, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, calling, I imagine, *the unshaken faith of the disciple the rock*. And it is said too in a certain place by the voice of the Psalmist, Her foundations are upon the holy hills. Well may we liken to the holy hills the holy Apostles and Evangelists, whose knowledge is firmly fixed like a foundation to those coming after them, not permitting those who have been inclosed in their net to fall away to a reprobate faith." [In Esai. lib. iv. Orat. 2. Tom. ii. 593]. Thus beautifully and Scripturally does this eminent Bishop expound the passage in S. Matthew, and teach the alone supremacy of Christ in His Church, beneath whom His Apostles share an equal office and dignity.

One more extract from S. Cyril will rescue another passage of Scripture from the use made of it, by Roman Divines, to build upon it the peculiar claims they ascribe to S. Peter. On the words "Feed My sheep," &c., he says, "Peter came to Him before the rest, as it seems, not caring for the passage in the boat, through his incomparably fervent and admirable love towards Christ. So he is the first to start forth and draw the net. For he was one ever ready, stimulated by an ardent zeal both in acting and speaking. Thus he was the first to confess the faith, when the Saviour in the parts of Cesarea Philippi enquired of them, Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am? For when the rest said, Some say Elias, some Jeremias, or one of the Prophets: as Christ asked them again, and said, But whom say ye that I am? He, that is the leader and set before the rest, again stands forward in advance of the others, and says, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Likewise when the band of soldiers, came together with the servants of the Jews to carry Jesus to the rulers, all the rest left Him and fled, as it is written, but Peter with his sword struck off the ear of Malchus. For he thought

it his duty in every manner to defend his own master, even though he made the attempt in a manner altogether displeasing to Him. When he comes, therefore, Christ asks him *more severely than the rest*, if he loves more than them, and this three times. Peter assents, and confesses that he loves Him, calling Himself to witness of his inward disposition. At each of his confessions separately he is told to take care of the *rational* sheep. Now, inasmuch as I affirm that we ought to search out the secret meaning of these things, I conceive that they were not written without purpose, but the word is again in the throes of childbirth, and there is surely some secret mystery in the sense of what is before us. For may not some one say with reason, why asked He the question of *Simon alone though the other disciples were standing by?* And what is the meaning of 'feed My sheep' and the like? We say then that St. Peter had been *already elected to the divine Apostolate together with the other disciples*: for our Lord Jesus Christ Himself named *them Apostles*, as it is written. But the plot of the Jews having taken place, and he in the mean time committed a certain fault, for St. Peter overwhelmed with terror

thrice denied the Lord, Christ makes good what had happened, and demands in various terms the *triple* confession, setting this as it were against that, and providing a correction equivalent to the faults. For one may grant that the sinning in word, and the force of a crime lying in the tongue alone, might in the same mode be wiped away. But He bids him say if he loves Him even more than the rest. For in truth, as one who had met with greater forbearance, and received the remission of his offence from a more bountiful hand, might he not with reason gather up in himself a greater love than that of the rest, and answer his benefactor with a supreme affection? For all the holy disciples shared in the crime of being put to flight, when the cruelty of the Jews inspired them with intolerable fear, and the savage soldiers, who came to seize Jesus, threatened them with a horrible death: but the offence of Peter in the triple denial was *over and above this peculiarly his own*. Therefore, as having received a fuller remission than the rest, he is required to say if he loves Him more. It is according to the Saviour's word, to whom much is forgiven, he loveth much Therefore by the triple

confession of blessed Peter the offence of triple denial was done away. *But by the Lord's saying, Feed My sheep a renewal, as it were, of the Apostolate already conferred upon him is understood to take place wiping away the intervening reproach of his falls, and effacing the littleness of human infirmity.*" [Tom. iv. 1118—20]. It is impossible not to perceive how utterly opposed such an interpretation is, to the idea of S. Peter's being invested on this occasion with higher powers than the rest of the Apostles, which constituted him and his successors supreme Pastors over the whole Church.

§ 14. *Vincentius of Lirens.*

The name of this Presbyter of the once famed monastery of Lirens, stands high in the esteem of the Church, on account of his admirable little treatise against novelties in Religion entituled "The Commonitory," which he put forth soon after the council of Ephesus, A. D., 431. In speaking of the rebaptization of heretics, he says: "When therefore every where all men exclaimed against the novelty of the doctrine, and all priests in all places,

each one according to his zeal, did oppose; then Pope Stephen of blessed memory, Bishop of the Apostolic See resisted *in common* indeed with the rest of *his fellow Bishops*, but yet more than the rest, thinking it as I suppose reason so much to excel all other in devotion towards the faith, as he was superior to them in authority of place, [*loci auctoritate*]." Common: § vi. This statement while clearly asserting the equality of all Bishops, certainly indicates that development of the Patriarchal system which recognized a primacy of order in the occupant of the See of Rome from *authority of place*, a distinction which, as we shall subsequently see, obtained prominent consideration in the action of the councils of the Church. But further than this, it yields no support to the claim of complete supremacy with which alone that See will now be content. On the other hand, the whole scope and tendency of the principles advocated by Vincentius in the treatise itself, afford the strongest evidence imaginable of his being totally unacquainted with the Roman idea of the Pope possessing, by Divine Right, the office of final judge in *all matters of faith*. For the great maxim

enforced by Vincentius—"Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," as supplying a *series of tests* for the defence of primitive truth against "novel errors," manifestly implies, that no such office as is now ascribed to the Pope, existed in the Church to his knowledge. It was to supply the lack of such an office, that he proposes his rule with reference only to *novel* heresies. For the refutation of *inveterate* heresies, he knew of no authority but that of the Scriptures alone. It is difficult to conceive the following language as uttered by a consistent believer of the Roman Supremacy: "Enquiring therefore often with great desire and attention, of very many excellent, holy, and learned men, how and by what means I might assuredly, and as it were by some general and ordinary way, discern the true Catholic faith from false and wicked heresy: to this question I had usually this answer of them all, that whether I or any other desired to find out the fraud of heretics, daily springing up, and to escape their snares, and willingly would continue in a sound faith, himself safe and sound, that he ought two manners of ways by God's assistance to defend and preserve his faith;

that is, *first, by the authority of the law of God ; secondly, by the tradition of the Catholic Church.*" Common. § ii.

§ 15. *S. Leo the Great.*

We close this examination of the Testimony of the Fathers with the eminent Bishop who presided in the See of Rome from 440 to 461. For, it is undeniable that S. Leo deviated from the general line of Patristic teaching regarding S. Peter's place and office in the Church, by introducing a new element of religious belief, which, the succeeding Popes after him and Church writers generally in the West, developed into the full expression of the Papal idea, as maintained for some centuries now in the Roman Communion. He was the first to ascribe to S. Peter, not merely a primacy in the sense of a precedency and representative character, which all the Fathers before him readily accorded, but also a certain superiority of power in the Apostle "above the rest" of the Apostolic body, which marks the difference from their teaching. Thus in his 73rd Sermon, the first for the Ascension, he says: "Those days, then, dearly beloved

which elapsed between the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, did not pass away in an inactive course: but in them great and sacred truths were confirmed, great mysteries were revealed. In them is taken away the fear of terrible death, and the immortality not only of the soul, but also of the flesh, is displayed. In them, by means of the Lord's breathing, the Holy Spirit is poured into all the Apostles; and to the blessed Peter *above the rest*, after the keys of the kingdom, *is entrusted the Lord's flock*"—[supra cæteros, post regni claves, ovilis dominici cura mandatur.] S. Leonis Serm: p. 335. Romæ 1849. So also in an earlier sermon, whilst clearly changing the more ancient interpretation of S. Peter's *faith* being the Rock of the Church, for another that makes his *person* as confessing the faith to be the Rock, he claims for the Apostle a superiority of power in its government. For he says, "Deservedly was the blessed Apostle Peter praised on his confession of this union [of the Godhead and manhood in Christ]; who when our Lord asked what His disciples understood concerning Him, with all speed anticipated the voices of them all, saying, 'Thou art the Christ, the

Son of the living God.' Which indeed he saw, not by flesh and blood explaining it, (for their interposition might have been a hindrance to the inward eyes,) but by the very Spirit of the Father working in his believing heart; so that, being prepared *for the government of the whole Church*, he might first learn what he had to teach, and on account of the firmness of that faith, which he was to proclaim, might hear it said, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Accordingly, the strength of Christian faith, which, being built on an impregnable rock, fears not the gates of death, confesses one Lord Jesus Christ both very God and very man." Serm. 62, p. 275. From this novel principle which he introduced into the interpretation of this passage, it is not surprizing that S. Leo, good and great as he was, should have advanced claims as the heir of S. Peter to a general authority over the whole Church, for which he procured, as we know, the sanction of the Emperor Valentinian. So deeply did this view take possession of his mind that we find him, in the midst of an assembly of Bishops, collected from

all Italy, to commemorate the anniversary of his pontificate, enunciating it in language which contains in itself the germ of the whole Papal doctrine of succeeding ages: "More profitable and more worthy by far it is to raise the mind's eye unto the contemplation of the most blessed Apostle Peter's glory, and to celebrate this day chiefly in the honour of him who was watered with streams so copious from the very fountain of all graces, *that while nothing has passed to others without his participation, yet he received many special privileges of his own ... And yet out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles, and the collected Fathers of the Church ; so that, though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power. Beloved, it is a great and wonderful participation of His own power which the Divine condescension gave to this man ; and if He willed that other rulers should enjoy aught together with him, yet never did He give, save through him, what he denied not to others.*" Sermon 4. p. 11. The evident care

bestowed on working out this view, which is elaborately done in more than one place in S. Leo's writings, indicates very plainly its novelty, and contrasts strikingly with the argument which is used in proof of the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy. Catholics argue with irresistible force, that "if Bishops had been superior to Presbyters by human right only, some period would have been *assignable* later than the Apostolic age, in which the new institution was established," for in all the writings of primitive Antiquity, not a single argument is urged in favour of Episcopacy, but its origin and authority are everywhere without question assumed. But we here perceive how when the Papal Supremacy began to be urged, there is evidently a consciousness of its standing upon another foundation than Episcopacy, and needing a special defence which had to be ostentatiously put forth. "S. Leo is the great author of this opinion," as Mr. Allies confessed whilst he was amongst us, and the ability with which that Pontiff sustained the loftiness of his claims, aided as he was by the secular power of the Emperor of the time, laid the foundation of that Supremacy of his See in Western

Europe, which subsequent Popes built up till it reached the autocracy which spread its colossal shadow over the Church of the middle ages, and claims the Christian world for its possession to this very day. But it stands detected as an invention, with its author known, and its date assignable. And from the first time that this Papal doctrine presented itself to the Eastern mind to the present hour, it has been firmly and unequivocally denied.¹

A remarkable confirmation of the *novel* character of the peculiarly Roman interpretation of certain passages of Holy Scripture which was thus superinduced by private judgment on the more ancient and Catholic interpretation of them, and eventually dislodged it, is furnished from a source from which such a confirmation may be least expected. But we find Æneas Sylvius who became Pope of Rome under the name of Pius II in 1458, supplying us with it. That he retracted it after he was raised to the Papacy, is not surprising, and cannot invalidate its truth. What he

¹ See the Appendix for extracts from the Encyclical Letter issued by the four Eastern Patriarchs, in reply to that of Pope Pius IX. addressed to them in 1848.

wrote then is as follows: "It is the *opinion of all that are dead*, if that can be called a mere opinion which is fortified with sufficient authorities, that the Pope of Rome is subject to the universal Church; neither dare those who now live deny it. But it is made a doubt among some, whether he be subject to a general council; for there are some, out of singularity, or that they expect the rewards of their flattery, have begun to spread *new and strange* doctrines, and are not afraid to exempt the Pope from the jurisdiction of the Holy Council; for ambition has blinded them; from whence not only this modern, but all schisms to this day have arisen...These poor men do not consider that these things they say are but the words either of Popes who would extend their power, or of their flatterers; and because such sayings are easily answered, *they straight run to the Gospel, and interpret the words of Christ*, not according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, but *by their private judgment*. And they make much of that which was said to Peter, 'Thou shalt be called Cephas;' *by which* they make him head of the Church; and 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' and,

‘Whatsoever thou bindest upon earth;’ and ‘I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not;’ and, ‘Feed My sheep;’ and, ‘Launch out into the deep;’ and, ‘Fear not, thou shalt henceforth catch men;’ and that Christ commanded Peter alone, as Prince of the Apostles to pay tribute for himself and for Him; and because Peter drew the net to shore full of great fishes; and that Peter alone drew his sword in defence of Christ. *All which things these men after a strange manner do refine upon, wholly neglecting the expositions of the Holy Doctors.*” [Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Bas. Concil. i. p. 772 Ed. Paris 1666].¹

We may now safely conclude this portion of our task, by maintaining that not a single sentence without dislocation from its context, but fairly considered by the light of that context, can be produced from the voluminous writings of the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Catholic Church, until the time when S. Leo innovated upon their undoubted teaching, to prove the claims of the Roman See to Supremacy over the whole Church. On the other

¹ Quoted by Leslie in the “Regale and Pontificate.” p. 132—135 2nd Ed. 1702.

hand all that we find in their writings and know of their actions, testify to the universal belief that the Bishops of the Church every where have inherited, equally with the Bishop of Rome, the power of the Apostles of Christ.

CHAPTER II.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE COUNCILS.

The voice of the Church, as it "echoes down through the grand march of centuries," is most distinctly heard in her great Councils, known as Œcumenical and representing her collective judgment and action. While the decrees concerning *faith* which they propounded, by their after-reception throughout the whole Church, acquire an abiding authority; their canons of *discipline* testify to the actually existing state of things at the time they were framed, and supply principles for the government of the Church in all subsequent time. The value of their testimony therefore, in the present question, cannot be too highly estimated. The actual system of the Ancient Church is seen, as in a mirror,

in the constitution and canons of these Councils, and its self-government by means of the united Episcopate in full and equal possession of the highest spiritual authority with only such gradations of honour as were made necessary for the sake of order, stands out as a fact in irreconcilable opposition to the highly centralized monarchy claimed and exercised by the Papacy of later ages. What the Roman doctrine is, on the relation of the Pontiff to general Councils of the Church, sets this opposition in the strongest light possible. For the Canonists teach, "that the Church is a pure monarchy, insomuch that in an Œcumenical Council if the majority of the fathers agree with the Pope, it is well, and settles the matter by universal agreement, but if they differ, their authority avails nothing, because separate from their head, they cannot represent the Church."¹ But it will be seen, that the history of the Councils contradicts such a doctrine in every point, exhibiting, as it does, the government of the Church Catholic as vested in the universal Episcopate possessed of full and co-ordinate

¹ Devoti Institut. Canon : Proleg. Cap. 2.

authority, though acting together by means of a system of graduated precedency of order; and the force of its decrees as grounded on the consent of the Fathers met together in Council, including indeed that of the Bishop of Rome as *primus inter pares*, but no further dependent upon it, or resulting from it.

We proceed then to examine the testimony of the Councils, as furnished in the records we possess, of their history.

§ 1. *Council of Nicæa.*

The Church of Christ had maintained its Divine life continuous from Pentecost, as being "one Body and one Spirit," holding "one LORD, one faith, one Baptism" and governed by one Apostolic ministry; but it was not until its conflict with the dominant Paganism of the world had issued in victory, that it was enabled to manifest outwardly its unity and strength. In the intervals of persecution indeed, local synods had been occasionally held to provide mostly for matters of discipline, but the whole Church met in representation for the first time, after the Empire became Christian, at the Council of Nicæa in

Bithynia, A. D., 325. The number of Bishops who met on the occasion, from all parts of the Christian world, has been usually stated as 318, and the Emperor Constantine, who summoned them, to condemn the malignant heresy of Arianism, cannot be proved to have acted in the matter, "by the authority of Sylvester, the chief Pontiff," as has been asserted on the Roman side. In the Emperor's Oration to the Nicene Council, he expressly claims the idea of such a Council as his own: "I did not neglect the rumour of your dissension" he says, "but being chiefly desirous that *through my labour and care a remedy might be discovered, I summoned you all without delay.*" (Mansi ii. p. 662.) Pope S. Sylvester was absent on account of his advanced age, though represented by two of his Presbyters, who subscribed their names next after that of Hosius the Bishop of Cordova in Spain, whose high character and influence obtained for him this pre-eminence at the Council, so that he is spoken of as having presided over it. Adm. Wilberforce after mentioning "that Gelasius of Cyzicum, writing in the fifth century, says that he did so by designation from the Bishop of Rome," frankly admits, that "probably this

is only the explanation which was given in a later age, of circumstances which subsequent custom had rendered perplexing."¹ This is equivalent to allowing that the notion of Hosius presiding as the Pope's legate was an after-thought. But we possess the opinion of a higher authority on this point, which as proceeding from the learned Roman Canonist GIBERT, may be deemed sufficient to set it at rest. He says: "As to the presidency of the Council of Nice it is commonly accorded to Hosius the Bishop of Cordova, but it is disputed by what title: some saying that he possessed this honour, as being the legate of the Apostolic See; *but there is not a vestige of this legation.* Others think that this was done on account of his singular virtue, knowledge, and experience; together with his old age, which attracted towards him great veneration. If confidence may be placed in the subscriptions of this council which are read in the councils, &c., it might be concluded that the Bishops sat in it *according to the order of their respective provinces.*"² That the first General Council of the Church was

¹ Principles of Ch. Authority, Ch. xi. p. 184.

² Expos. Jur. Can. tom. 1, p. 87.

not convoked by the Pope, nor presided over by him either in person or by his legates, may therefore be considered as facts which nullify the pretension advanced on behalf of his Supremacy with reference to such Councils.

We turn then to enquire if any canon passed by the Council, is found to favour the Supremacy of the Roman See. There is but one which relates to the government of the Church, and in which reference is made by name to the Bishop of Rome : It is the Sixth Canon which runs as follows :—" Let the ancient customs be maintained which are in Egypt and Lybia and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all those places. For this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner in Antioch and in the other provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the Churches ; and as a general rule this is manifest, that if any one be made a Bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great council declares that he should not be a Bishop. If however, two or three out of private contention resist the general vote of all, being reasonable and according to the Ecclesiastical Canon, let the vote of the greater number prevail." This

canon establishes the ancient privileges of particular Churches, and the prerogatives of Metropolitans. It accords to Metropolitans the right to consecrate the Bishops of their own province, but provides in particular for the Bishop of Alexandria an exercise of authority superseding the rights of the Metropolitans throughout the three provinces of Egypt Lybia, and Pentapolis, on the express ground of *ancient custom*, similar to that which enabled the Bishop of Rome to exercise the same kind of authority over his provinces, i. e., as Ruffinus and others explain this, over the Suburbican provinces, which are, Italy south of the province of Milan, Sicily, and the islands adjacent. DU PIN well observes on this canon: "The comparison made between the Bishop of Alexandria and Rome, is—as the former is the head of the diocese of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, so the latter is of the Suburbicarian provinces."¹ A preponderating influence is clearly seen to be exercised by certain Sees, viz., by Rome in the West, and by Alexandria and Antioch in the East; but it does not seem, indeed, that the authority of

¹ De Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, Diss i § 14. p. 88.

the Bishop of Rome differed in *kind*, but only in *degree*, from that of his brethren, especially those of Alexandria and Antioch. To argue, as some Roman writers have done, that the Council on this occasion was not speaking of the authority of the Bishop of Rome as Universal Pastor, but only of his rights as Patriarch, is too manifestly an attempt to evade the force of the necessary inference from the canon, that the Roman Bishop's power, as well as that of the other Metropolitans, had its bounds, and that the limits of their respective jurisdictions were determined, as a matter of fact, by the same rule, that of "ancient custom." The privileges [*πρεσβεια*] of all the Churches are put upon the same foundation, "Let the ancient customs prevail;" and nothing is more evident than that this great Council of the Church was utterly unconscious of the existence of another and Diviner ground for Supremacy in Rome. And it is very apparent that the effect of this canon was felt to be unfavorable to the increasing claims of that See, from the fact that the Legates of S. Leo, at the Council of Chalcedon, little more than a century later, made an attempt to substitute a spurious edition of the canon, beginning

thus,—“The Church of Rome always had the primacy,” &c. But the attempt was defeated by the Archdeacon of Constantinople, Aetius, producing a copy of the genuine canon, which as being found the same in all the Greek Codes, and versions as well, with the exception of an old Latin one, has led to this peculiar reading being universally rejected. But even if the reading had been genuine, it would have implied no more than a primacy of rank in the Roman See which had been sufficiently recognized by the way in which it was mentioned in the framing of the canon itself.

The conclusion to which we are brought, as regards the testimony of the first great and most celebrated Council of the Church, is, that it affords no support to the Roman theory of the Pope's Supremacy, and virtually contradicts that theory by fixing the limits of his jurisdiction, and those of the Bishops of the other great Sees according to *ancient custom*.

§ 2. *The First Council of Constantinople.*

The Second General Council is that known as the first of Constantinople, which was assembled in that city in A. D. 381, in order to pass sentence on the heretical teaching of

Macedonius, who asserted that the Divinity of the Son was *similar* only to that of the Father, and denied altogether the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, affirming Him to be a creature. The Council consisting of 150 Bishops, was convoked by the Emperor Theodosius, as the Church Historians Socrates [Eccl. Hist. v. 8.], Sozomen [vii. 7.], and Theodoret [v. 7.] expressly testify; nor do any of these make the slightest allusion to any interference on the part of the Bishop of Rome, though Roman writers have not scrupled to assert that this Council was convened, "by the authority of Pope Damasus." But the fact is, that Pope Damasus was not present, either in person or by legates, and when in the following year he desired to have a general council assembled at Rome, [concilium generale Romæ celebrandum indixit,] and by letters transmitted through the Emperor invited the Oriental Bishops to attend, they civilly declined the invitation, and, being many of them re-assembled at Constantinople, sent him a Synodical letter in which they give him information of what had been done by them in Council in the preceding year. [Theod. v. 8.] It is indeed a remarkable fact, that the Council at which

the Roman Bishop had no representative, and of the acts of which he appears to have had no official information till a year after it had taken place, was acknowledged by him and the West, as well as the East, as Œcumenical, and has ever been so esteemed throughout the whole Church.

Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, presided at first over this Council, and he had been long refused communion by the Bishop of Rome, who had espoused the cause of Paulinus the rival Bishop of that See against Meletius, though he was supported by most of his flock and the East generally. It has been asserted that Meletius was called to the Council *after* some amicable arrangement was effected between himself and Paulinus, which had received the approbation of the Bishop of Rome. TILLEMONT, whose authority for this account of the matter is adduced, admits that "we have not positive proofs of this," and whether it was so or not, we know, as a fact of history, that Meletius sat as President of the great Council of the East at Antioch in 379, when the Pope *did not acknowledge him*. In fact the whole action of the East at this period was marked by such independence and free-

dom, that it seems far from probable that the appointment of Meletius to preside at the Council of Constantinople was a measure which resulted in any degree from the decision in his favour by the Roman Bishop. And subsequent events connected with the presidency of the council confirm this view of the case. For when Meletius died while the council was sitting, S. Gregory of Nazianzum, was elected to succeed him, and though he earnestly besought the younger Bishops to recognize Paulinus as the Bishop of both parties in the Church of Antioch, and even offered to resign his own See of Constantinople to which he had been raised on the deposition of Maximus by the council, they chose rather that he should resign it, than that they should receive Paulinus, as it were, from the hands of Rome and the West. The Eastern Bishops, either at the Council, or when they returned home, elected Flavian to succeed Meletius at Antioch. Presently the Egyptian Bishops with their Patriarch Timotheus, on their arrival, expressing disapproval of S. Gregory's appointment, he readily availed himself of the opportunity which thus presented itself to resign his See. The Bishops and the Em-

peror thereupon elected Nectarius as Bishop of Constantinople, and he became the president of the Council. The whole course of these proceedings certainly shewed a determination on their part to conduct their own affairs, and elect their own Patriarchs, without interference from the West. Adn. Wilberforce styles this council a "merely Eastern Synod," but admits, that it "subsequently was received as the Second General Council when its creed was accepted by the Western Church."¹ But it must be remembered, that such a Synod after all, was the one, which executed the highest functions of the Catholic Church, by adding important articles of the faith to the Nicene Creed.

Of the Canons of discipline passed by the Council, only two have a bearing on the subject in hand. They are as follow :

Canon 2. "The Bishops who are outside a Diocese, must not invade the Churches which are across the borders, nor bring confusion into the Churches ; but according to the Canons, the Bishop of Alexandria must have the sole administration of the affairs of Egypt, and

¹ Principles of Ch. Authority. p. 184.

the Bishops of the East must administer the East only, the privileges which were assigned to the Church of Antioch by the Canons made at Nicæa being preserved; and the Bishop of the Asian diocese must administer the affairs of the Asian only, and those of the Pontic diocese the affairs of the Pontic only, and those of Thrace the affairs of Thrace only. Moreover, Bishops may not, without being called, go beyond the bounds of their Diocese for the purpose of ordaining, or any other ecclesiastical function. The above written rule respecting the *Dioceses* being observed, it is plain that the Synod of each *Province* must administer the affairs of the province, according to what was decreed at Nicæa. But the Churches of God which are among the Barbarians, must be administered according to the customs of the Fathers which have prevailed."

Canon 3. "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome."

The self government of the Church in the East is fully provided for by the former of these two Canons, and the Roman Catholic Historian FLEURY remarks regarding it, that,

"this canon, which gives to the councils of particular places full authority in Ecclesiastical matters, seems to take away the power of appealing to the Pope granted by the council of Sardica and to restore the ancient right."¹ It must be noted however, in passing, that the power of receiving appeals accorded to the Bishop of Rome at the council of Sardica in A. D., 347, if it meant any thing more than a personal honour to Julius the Bishop of that See at the time, intended to strengthen his hands for a particular juncture, yet involved for too little, in the terms employed to describe it, of that spiritual sovereignty which was subsequently claimed under cover of it; and what is more, it avowedly proceeded from the *grant* of the Council itself, and introduced a *new* discipline which had been hitherto unknown in the Church. DU PIN however shows that this discipline of Sardica was never received in the East, and not for many centuries in the West itself.² In fact, the council though designed to be Œcumenical was, by the retirement of the Eastern Prelates, reduced to the

¹ Eccl. Hist. Bk. xviii. § 7. p. 17. Oxf. trans.

² De Antiq. Eccl: Disciplina. Diss ii. p. 115.

rank of a purely Western Synod, and its canons were not even known to the African Bishops in S. Augustine's time, as was evinced in the case of Apiarius' appeal to Pope Zosimus, when they unanimously refused, with S. Augustine at their head, to acknowledge the Sardican canons and to allow of such appeals.

The latter of the two Canons adduced from those passed by the Council of Constantinople is of much importance, as giving precedence to the Bishop of Constantinople before those of Alexandria and Antioch, on the ground of that See being "new Rome," (*the authority of place,*) and again implies as the canon of Nicæa before, that the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome is a Primacy of honour. At the Council of Chalcedon, when appeal was made to this Canon, the Pope S. Leo declared, that it had never been notified to Rome. As however, in the meantime it had taken effect throughout the East, and even in the very Council itself, Nectarius so soon as he is elected is found to preside instead of Timothy of Alexandria, this fact only serves to put in a strong point of view the real self-government of the Eastern Churches. The alteration of the original order of the Sees, and the rais-

ing of one possessed of political importance over others of Apostolic foundation, would certainly seem to be measures in which the West might claim to have a voice. However unwilling the Bishops of Rome were to sanction this precedence given to the See of Constantinople, it is an undoubted fact that the Bishop of that See from this time 381, uniformly appears as the First Bishop of the East, from having his Episcopal throne in New Rome.

§ 3. *The Council of Ephesus.*

The Third General Council was convened at Ephesus in A. D., 431, by the Emperor Theodosius the younger, at the instance of S. Cyril of Alexandria, as the Church Historian Evagrius expressly records. [Eccl. Hist. Bk. 1. c. 3.] That S. Cyril presided over it is also a fact of history, the Pope Celestine, having been represented by his legates Arcadius, Projectus and Philip, who subscribed their names *after* that of S. Cyril. It was composed of 200 Bishops who met to condemn the heresy of Nestorius the Bishop of Constantinople, who denied the two natures in the Person of our LORD, and refused to

acknowledge the Blessed Virgin to be the "Mother of God." The acts of this Council are too extensive to be entered into, but certain facts stand out, which sufficiently supply the ground for concluding that its testimony is not in favour of the Supremacy of the Pope of Rome. The eminent Roman Catholic Divine, BOSSUET, has pointed out at length, that Pope Celestine had already condemned Nestorius, had granted him ten days for repentance, and then solemnly declared him excommunicate. Nothing was wanting to render the exercise of his power effective, if indeed he had been the recognized Supreme head of the Church. Yet *after this*, the Council is assembled to settle the question, Nestorius is summoned by the name of "the most religious Bishop," the sentence of Celestine and the letters of Cyril are examined and approved, and thereupon the condemnation of Nestorius pronounced. The final sentence was conveyed in these words:—"The Holy Council to Nestorius, another Judas, know thou hast been deposed by the Holy Council." So he, who before the inquiry of the Council was addressed as the "most religious Bishop," notwithstanding his excommunication by the Bishop

of Rome who had committed his authority to S. Cyril for carrying it into effect, "associating" as he said, "the authority of our See and using our person and place, with power," is only after the judgment of the Council itself pronounced to be another Judas, and deposed by its sentence from his Episcopal seat.

It is well remarked by BOSSUET, that we here observe three things: "First, after the judgment of S. Celestine, another is still required, viz., that of the Council. Secondly, that these two things rest with the Fathers, to judge of doctrine and of persons. Thirdly, that the judgment of the Council is decisive and final."¹

It is important also to notice what is meant by the Pope *confirming* the decrees of a Council. The Legates, not having arrived at the commencement, requested that all which had been read and done at Ephesus from the beginning should be read afresh in public Session, "in order," they say, "that obeying the form of the most holy Pope Celestine, who hath committed this care to us, we may be enabled to confirm the judgment also of your

¹ Def. Cler. Gall. lib. 7. c. 9—13.

Holiness." After these had all been read, and the Legates agreed to them, Cyril proposes to the Holy Council, "that the Legates by their signature, as was customary, *should make plain and manifest their canonical agreement with the council.*" To this question of Cyril, the Council thus answers and decrees, that "the Legates by their subscription confirm the Acts." "By which place," as BOSSUET observes, "this confirmation spoken of by the Council, is clearly shown to be nothing else but their making their assent plain and manifest as Cyril proposed. This true genuine sense of confirmation," he continues, "we have often brought forward, and shall often again, and now congratulate ourselves that it is clearly set before us by the holy Council of Ephesus."

Of the canons of discipline which this Council sanctioned, the Eighth confirms the Episcopal and Patriarchal system, and bears the strongest testimony against the Roman. It is as follows:—

Canon 8. "The most beloved of God our fellow-Bishop Rheginus, and Zeno and Evagrius, the most religious Bishops of the province of Cyprus, have declared unto us an

innovation which has been introduced contrary to the laws of the Church and the canons of the holy Fathers, and which affects the liberty of all. Wherefore since evils which affect the community require more attention, inasmuch as they cause greater hurt, and especially since the Bishop of Antioch has not so much as followed an ancient custom in performing ordinations in Cyprus, as those most religious persons who have come to the holy Synod have informed us, by writing and by word of mouth; we declare that they who preside over the holy Churches which are in Cyprus, shall preserve, without gainsaying or opposition, their right of performing by themselves the ordinations of the most religious Bishops, according to the canons of the holy Fathers and the ancient custom. The same rule shall be observed in all the other Dioceses, and in the provinces *everywhere*, so that none of the most religious Bishops shall invade any other Province, which has not heretofore from the beginning been under the hands of himself or his predecessor. But if any one has so invaded a Province, and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that the Canons of

the Fathers may not be transgressed, *nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office, nor we without marking the steps, lose by little and little the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own blood.* The holy and Œcumenical Synod has therefore decreed, that the rights which have heretofore, and from the beginning, belonged to each Province, shall be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the custom which has prevailed of old, each Metropolitan having permission to take a copy of the things now transacted for his own security. But if any one shall introduce any regulation contrary to what has been now defined, the whole Holy and Œcumenical Synod has decreed that it shall be of no effect."

The *Jus Cyprium* here secured by the decision of a General Council, is evidently based on principles of universal application throughout the Church, namely, the restraint of a spirit of *usurpation* altogether opposed to Christianity, and the *preservation of Christian liberty* with which the Church has been gifted at so sacred a price. The decree of the Council, establishes

the jurisdictions existing by lawful authority at the time it was enacted, and forbids all usurpation of power by one Church over another, and what is more, it orders the restoration of what may be usurped. It was evidently designed, to supply a law for the government of the whole Church in succeeding ages, and was not a changeable regulation relating merely to discipline. The terms in which it was expressed unmistakeably invest it with a far higher and more sacred character. And in throwing off the usurped dominion of the Bishop of Rome, the Crown and Church of England claimed only their original and ancient independence of that See, by virtue of this very law of the Ephesine Council, as of binding and permanent authority. The learned Franciscan BARNES, does not, therefore, hesitate to defend the ancient liberties of the British Church on the ground of this 8th canon of the Council of Ephesus, and to maintain that the rights or privileges secured to us by it, may be retained without any mark of schism, and without any loss of Catholicity.¹

¹ In his "Catholico-Romanus Pacificus" sec. iii. *De insula magnæ Britanniae privilegiis*, he says: "ex can. 8. Ephesino, debent conservari, imo et vi ablata repeti, ecclesiarum

§ 4. *The Council of Chalcedon.*

The Fourth Œcumenical Council, consisting of 630 Bishops, was summoned by the Emperor Marcian, [Evagrius, Bk. ii. c. 2.], and assembled at Chalcedon in A. D., 451, in order to condemn the heresy of Eutyches and Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, who maintained that there was only one nature in our LORD after the Incarnation, by His manhood being lost in the Godhead. This is the *first* General Council in which the Bishop of Rome presided, by his Legates Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, who subscribed their names at the head, though the imperial officers controlled its proceedings.

The Acts of the Council are similar to those of the preceding Council. S. Leo as the greatest Theologian of his day, and the occu-

antiqua privilegia. Insula autem Britanniae gavisæ est olim privilegio Cyprio, ut nullius patriarchæ legibus subderetur. Hoc autem privilegium etsi abolitum olim fuit bellorum tumultibus et vi, tamen cum tempore Henrici octavi totius regni consensu fuit repetitum, et ab eo tempore pacifice præscriptum, videtur pacis ergo retineri debere, sine dispendio Catholicismi, et absque Schismatis ullius nota."

pant of the first See of Christendom, naturally took the initiative, in condemning the Eutychian heresy, by his celebrated Letter to Flavian, known as the "Tome" of S. Leo, in which the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is exactly discussed and defined. BOSUET, whom we shall again follow, proves from the Acts of the Council itself, that this very letter was read, examined, and submitted to the judgment of the several Bishops there assembled, who received it not as a writing beyond discussion on account of the authority of its composer, but because it was found upon their examination of it, to agree with the decisions of the three preceding Œcumenical Councils. The Acts are so explicit as to place this fact beyond dispute.

For example, Anatolius. Bishop of Constantinople, first gives his sentence :—

"The letter of the most holy and religious Archbishop Leo agrees with the Creed of our 318 Fathers at Nicæa, and of the 150 who afterwards assembled at Constantinople, and confirmed the same Faith, and with the proceedings at Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, who is among the Saints, by the Œcumenical and holy Council, when it condemned

Nestorius. I *therefore* agree to it, and willingly subscribe to it." BOSSUET well remarks, "These are the words of one plainly deliberating, not blindly subscribing out of mere obedience."

Again, Seleucus, Most Reverend Bishop of Amasea, says:—

"We have found the synodical letter of our most holy Father Cyril, agreeing with the Faith set forth by the 318 holy Fathers. And *in like manner* we have found the letter of our most holy Archbishop Leo agreeing both with the 318, and with those who were with the most holy Cyril." Here S. Leo's letter is avowedly put on the same footing with that of S. Cyril at the previous Council, and accepted for the same reason. -

And so the rest say to the same effect, as may be seen in the Acts. "It agrees and I subscribe;" many, more plainly and expressly, "It agrees and I *therefore* subscribe." So that indeed, it is evident, that in the Council itself and before it, the agreement of the Bishops is based on this, that, after weighing its matter, they considered, they judged, they were persuaded, that all agreed with the Fathers, and perceived that the common Faith

of all and each, had been set forth by Leo. It is also important to observe what BOSSUET proves against BELLARMINE, that this Letter of S. Leo's was not an instruction to assist the Bishops in forming a right judgment, but was intended as the *Type and Rule* of Faith by which all Churches were to be bound, in fact, a decision of the Apostolic See of the West, sent to every Church, when as yet no Council was contemplated.

Expressions used at the Council have been appealed to, as testifying to the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, such as when it was exclaimed at the conclusion of the lection of the Letter, "The faith of the Apostles! Anathema to those that gainsay! *Peter hath spoken by Leo!*" The value of such exclamations is considerably lessened, when it is found that by the same rule, at the same Council, it might have been held that the See of Corinth possesses the supremacy over the Church, because when Peter, Bishop of that Church, passed over from the heretical to the orthodox side, he was welcomed with shouts of "Peter holds the faith of Peter!"

It cannot but be evident to one who impartially reviews the proceedings of this Council,

as exhibited in its Acts, that while S. Leo was treated with reverence as the First Bishop of the Church and the Successor of S. Peter, the Council had no conception of his being the only Vicar of Christ, the source of Jurisdiction to the Episcopate of the Church, and the final Judge of all matters of Faith. After the definition of the Faith was concluded and other private business despatched, the Clergy of Constantinople requested the Legates to join them in discussing a matter concerning their own Church. The Legates refused, saying, that they had received no instructions about it. The Fathers however proceeded with their business, and not hindered by the withdrawal of the Legates, passed the following Canon:—

Canon 28. "We, following in all things the decisions of the Holy Fathers and acknowledging the canon of the 150 most religious Bishops which has just been read; [i. e., the 3rd Canon of the Council of Constantinople,] do also determine and decree the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy city of Constantinople. *For the Fathers properly have allowed the privileges* [*ἀποδίδωκεσαν τὰ πρεσβεία*] *to the throne of the Elder*

Rome because that was the imperial city. And the 150 most religious Bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging with reason, that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in Ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her. And (we also decree) that the Metropolitans only of the Pontic, and Asian, and Thracian Dioceses, and, moreover the Bishops of the aforesaid Dioceses who are amongst the Barbarians, shall be ordained by the above-mentioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; each Metropolitan of the aforesaid Dioceses ordaining the Bishops of the Province as has been declared by the divine Canons; but the Metropolitans themselves of the said Dioceses shall, as has been said, be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople, concordant elections being made according to custom and reported to him."

The Legates upon being informed of what had been done, demanded that the Council should assemble again the next day, and

annul this canon as contrary to the Canons of Nicæa, but the magistrates, who had been required to be present also, having heard the case decided in favour of the Canon, which accordingly was confirmed and the Council dissolved. S. Leo did not cease to oppose it however, ostensibly on the ground of its being contrary to the Nicene canon, but the canon prevailed throughout the East notwithstanding this opposition, and the See of Constantinople has ever since been acknowledged there as the First See of the East. This canon was even renewed in the Council in Trullo, A. D., 692, as follows:—Canon 36. “Renewing the decrees of the 150 holy Fathers assembled in this heaven-protected royal city, and those of the 630 Fathers assembled at Chalcedon, we decree that the See of Constantinople shall enjoy equal privileges with the See of Elder Rome, and be magnified, as that is, in ecclesiastical matters, being second after it; next to which, let the See of the great city of Alexandria rank, then that of Antioch, and then that of Jerusalem.” Mr. Allies’ comment on this canon is too valuable to be omitted. He says: “Here the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon is referred to as part of the decrees

of that Council. By which, as well as by the whole of the intervening history, *we may see the utter untruthfulness of the assertion that it was given up* through the opposition of St. Leo. And of course the utter incompatibility of this canon with the present Papal idea is plain at once. It sets clearly before the eyes the enormous and world-wide difference between Primacy and Supremacy. It comes to us on the sanction of two Œcumenical Councils, and a third intended to be so, and which, though not so, has remained the living rule of one half of the Church for 1150 years. But further, we have St. Leo's own authority for saying that the Roman Church in his day knew nothing of the canons of the 2nd Œcumenical Council; so that from 381 to 451 the whole East was governed by Canons never even carried to the Pope; and though St. Leo absolutely refused to receive, and did all he could to annul, the 28th canon of Chalcedon, yet his Legates at that very Council found Anatolius in full possession of the second place among the Patriarchs, did not attempt to disturb him in it, nay made it a charge against Dioscorus, that he had pushed Flavian of Constantinople down to the fifth

place. In fact, from the Council of 381 the Patriarch of Constantinople is found acting as Second Bishop of the Church ; he was so at Chalcedon in 451, he was so at Constantinople in 553, and again in 681. And he was so *in spite* of all the Pope could do against him. A more complete case of refutation of the Supremacy cannot be well imagined than that involved in the rank given to the Bishop of Constantinople ; a case the stronger in that the Nicene canons certainly were on the side of the Popes." [pp. 390, 391.]

§ 5. *The Second Council of Constantinople.*

The fifth Œcumenical Council was that convened at Constantinople in A. D., 553, by command of the Emperor Justinian the younger, and is known as the Second Council of Constantinople. The number of Bishops assembled on the occasion was 165, and they met for the condemnation of certain writings of Ibas Bishop of Edessa, Theodore Bishop of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus, (commonly known as "The Three Chapters") which savoured of the Nestorian heresy. Vigilius, the then Pope of Rome, had issued his

"Judicatum" in 548, against the "Three Chapters" saving the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. Whereupon the Bishops of Africa Illyria and Dalmatia, with two of his own confidential Deacons, withdrew from his communion, on the supposition that these writings had been approved by that Council. In the year 550, the African Bishops under Reparatus of Carthage not only rejected the "Judicatum," but also anathematized Vigilius himself, severing him from Catholic Communion and reserving to him only a place for repentance. At length Vigilius publicly withdrew his "Judicatum," and while the Council was sitting at Constantinople, he issued his "Constitutum," in which he disapproved of what Theodore and Theodoret had written, but declared that Ibas' letter was pronounced orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon. Although he was in Constantinople at the time, he refused to be present at the Council either personally or by legates, but the Council proceeded with its business notwithstanding, and after examining the question of the "Three Chapters," decided that "the letter of Ibas was manifestly heretical and Nestorian and contrary in all things to the Faith of Chalce-

don, and that *they were altogether accursed*, who defended the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, or the writings of Theodoret against Cyril, or the impious letter of Ibas defending the tenets of Nestorius: and who did not anathematize it but said it was correct." "In these latter words" as BOSSUET observes, "they seemed not even to spare Vigilius, although they did not mention his name."

The Fifth Œcumenical Council is thus seen to have acted in spite of the Pope, delivering its judgment on matters which he had, during its sitting, forbidden to be discussed, and that a judgment expressly contrary to his own. The words of the Council are remarkable: "*We therefore to whom is committed the charge of ruling the Church of the Lord, fearing the malediction which hangs over those who do the work of the Lord negligently, hasten to preserve the good seed of faith pure from the tares of impiety.*" The Pope at length submitted to the Council, and six months afterwards wrote a letter to the patriarch Eutychius, saying, "We recognize for our brethren and colleagues all those who have condemned them [the three chapters], and annul by this writing all that has been done

by us or by others for the defence of the three chapters." It remains for those who maintain the Papal supremacy to explain the whole of this history consistently with their theory.

§ 6. *The Third Council of Constantinople.*

The sixth Council to which the style and authority of Œcumenical has been accorded by the Church, is that, which is known as the Third Council of Constantinople as having been held at that city by command of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus in A. D., 680. The Bishops who met to the number of 170, were called together for the condemnation of a branch of Eutychianism, which was named the *Monothelite* heresy, from maintaining that there was only *one will* in our LORD after the union of the two natures in Him. The Emperor himself or his officers, acted as the presidents of the Council in all its sessions, although the legates of Pope Agatho were present, and took precedence of the other Bishops. The Acts of this Council bring two main points to view as BOSSUET has remarked. First, it was held after the most express and accurate definition of the matter it discussed

by Pope S. Martin, and deliberated on the letter of Pope S. Agatho and the western Council. Secondly, it pronounced the condemnation of the deceased Pope Honorius, who had supported the heretical teaching of the two Monothelite prelates Sergius of Constantinople and Cyrus of Alexandria.

The letters of the Roman Bishop Agatho are approved in the Council precisely after the same order and manner as those of S. Cyril and S. Leo were approved in the Third and Fourth Councils, a certain proof that the Church still continued to receive no decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, without inquiry and examination, and submitting them to the final judgment of a General Council.

But the second point is of greater importance. In the 13th Action of the Council, after the letters of Honorius had been read and condemned, it was determined, that "Together with these [Sergius, and others] we order that Honorius who was Pope of ancient Rome be cast out of the holy Church of God, and anathematized because we find by his writings to Sergius that he has in all things followed his mind and confirmed his impious dogmas" [Mansi. 11. 555 C.] This sentence

was passed without any opposition on the part of the Roman Legates, and with their agreement and consent. It was also communicated in due form to Pope Agatho, and is likewise mentioned in the Imperial edict. Pope Leo the Second, successor of Agatho, to whom the Acts of the Council were sent for confirmation, also wrote back: "We anathematize alike those inventors of new error, that is Theodore Bishop of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, plotters against, rather than prelates of the Church of Constantinople; *and also Honorius, who did not illumine this Apostolical Church with the doctrine of Apostolical tradition, but by a foul betrayal attempted to subvert its spotless Faith.*" [Mansi. 11. 731. C.]

It is worthy of notice that in the *Liber Diurnus* of the Roman Pontiffs, there is a profession of Faith which the Pontiffs elect were wont to make, in which among the rest that are condemned with anathema, Honorius is mentioned.¹ "The same," says BOSSUET, "was read in ancient Roman Breviaries, up

¹ See Percival's *Roman Schism* p. 25, for the passage as extracted from Garnier the Jesuit's edition, Paris 1680.

to our time in the life of St. Leo the Second. But they suppress, as far as they can, the *Liber Diurnus*: they have erased this from the Roman Breviary. Have they therefore hidden it? Truth breaks out from all sides, and these things become so much the more evident, as they are more studiously put out of sight."¹

It is scarcely necessary to repeat Bossuet's arguments against Baronius and Bellarmine, who after these documents had been received without dispute for nine hundred years, simply assert that they were falsified by the Greeks. As Bossuet says, "A cause is utterly desperate, which must be defended by such fictions." And he thus concludes: "This we find to be certain. Honorius, duly questioned by three Patriarchs *de fide*, gave the worst answer: was condemned with anathema by the Sixth Council: was excused by Roman Pontiffs before the supreme sentence of the Council, after that sentence was condemned with the same anathema: Bellarmine and Baronius have betaken themselves to fictions, being unable to defend Honorius otherwise." The subter-

¹ Def. lib. vii. c. 26.

fuge that the letters of Honorius did not contain any utterance *ex cathedra*, and that the Sixth Council did not condemn him for an *ex cathedra* teaching of error, may be left to those whom it may satisfy. But the history of that age knows nothing of such a distinction.

We have now ascertained the testimony of the Six Œcumenical Councils of the Church on the question before us, and while we have no hesitation in admitting that a high and just deference was paid to the See of Rome, as that of S. Peter, the First among his co-equal brethren of the Apostolate, and located in the Imperial city of the world, we are unable to allow, in the face of undoubted facts of history, that the Church recognized or acknowledged in its Bishop, the Supremacy which has been and is now claimed for him over the whole Church. Such a claim is seen to be contrary to the Canon of the ancient undivided Church. The privileges which were acknowledged as belonging to the Roman See, differed only *in degree* from those possessed by the other great Sees, but the claim to Supremacy, we must believe, is what the Bishops of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon would

have rejected as being an usurpation of power opposed to Christian liberty, and an infringement of the Divine unity of the universal Episcopate of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE LITURGIES.

The Liturgies of the Ancient Church are documents which utter the voice of primitive tradition with singular fidelity and clearness, and though the evidence they furnish relates mainly to the true Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, they yet supply a remarkable negative proof against the Papal Supremacy, which is corroborative of the arguments already adduced from the history of the General Councils of the Church.

The number of existing Liturgies would exceed one hundred, which, whilst differing in minor details, are accordant in fundamental features. Interpolations of later date do not affect their normal type, and they are found to be unanimous in the testimony they bear to the doctrines which underlie the worship

they express. They have been grouped into families on definite principles, and the antiquity of the Archetypal Liturgies is established by modes of proof which may be illustrated by one example. We can determine, for instance, the form which S. James' Liturgy had during the Nicene age, by its being found to be identical with the Syriac Liturgy passing under the same name, which has been preserved among the Monophysite heretics, who have held no communion whatever with the Catholics since their separation from the Church, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon A. D., 451. A coincidence of this kind between the most solemn rites of two communions which have for so long a period avoided all intercourse with each other, clearly proves, that the Liturgical form used by both must have existed and been used in common some time previous to their separation, and that the heretical body must have carried it out with them when separating from the Church. If the worship of the Church in the Nicene age be admitted to be thus exhibited in one of the principal types of the Liturgies, we need not extend the argument unnecessarily by detailed proofs relative to the others, but at

once claim for the whole body of Liturgies, which, with whatever marked peculiarities of arrangement, bear the fullest evidence of agreement in fundamentals, that they were the legitimate development of the unwritten tradition of the Apostles, whose names they bear, respecting the mode of Eucharistic celebration, and may safely be ascribed therefore to Apostolic origin, if not indeed written in their age itself. For how came the liturgies of various Churches to present such a family likeness to each other at so early a period of the Church's life, and how came the Bishops of such distant countries when they met at Nicæa, to display such an uniformity in the modes of conducting Divine Worship? This could not have been possible, unless their liturgies had been derived from a common origin, and that origin could have been none other than Apostolic, to account for such a phenomenon. We are content for the present, not to touch upon a line of argument recently opened, of liturgical quotations in Isapostolic writings, and even in the Pauline epistles themselves. We state only the broad ground on which we claim for the liturgies of the Church a primitive antiquity, and having

done so, we maintain that if the Eucharistic doctrine they teach is primitive and Catholic, a point which Roman Divines have not been slow to avail themselves of,¹ the view they unfold of the constitution of the Church without any recognition of the Pope of Rome, as the Head of the Church and the centre of its unity, is equally primitive and Catholic. The ancient liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostome, used from time immemorial in the Churches of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, contain prayers for the Patriarch and Bishop of the Diocese, and sometimes for other Metropolitans, but never for the Bishop of the Diocese. The Roman liturgy alone contains prayers for the Bishop of Rome, as well as for the Bishop of the Diocese. This significant fact is fatal to the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, for had the Pope of Rome been in the apprehension of the Eastern mind the One Chief Ruler of the Church of Christ, whose jurisdiction by His appointment

¹ See Dr. Poynter's *Evidences and characters of the Christian Religion* App. p. 138—195 ; and Dr. Rock's *Hierurgia*. App. p. 527—534.

extended over the whole, the name of the Pope must have been mentioned first, and that of the Patriarch as subordinate to him, second, and then that of the Bishop of the diocese. But the Eastern Liturgies, one and all, make no mention whatever of the Pope, but regard the government of the Church as vested in the whole Apostolic College and its successors in the Catholic Episcopate, and not in an individual Apostle and his successor.

Thus, in the Alexandrine Liturgy of S. Basil, after a prayer for the "one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which is from one end of the earth to the other," for the sovereign, army, and different classes of men, the liturgy proceeds under the heading, prayer for the Pope: "And again let us call upon the Almighty and merciful God, the Father of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ through Whom we beseech and supplicate Thee, O Lover of man, good Lord. Remember O Lord, our most holy and blessed High-Priest, Abba N. Preserve, preserve him to us for many years, and peaceful times, discharging the holy High-Priesthood entrusted by Thee to him, according to Thy holy and blessed will; rightly dividing the word of

truth, and feeding Thy people in holiness and justice: together with all orthodox Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, with all the fulness of Thy holy, only, Catholic, and Apostolic Church." [Renaudot Tom. i. 59, Ed. 1847]. Renaudot himself remarks: "The prayer is plainly for the Patriarch of Alexandria: as likewise in the Greek manuscript of the Liturgy of St. Mark: it would be futile for any one to conjecture that this prayer belonged to the Roman Pontiff." It was sometimes the case that his name was mentioned in the dyptichs of the living, on a fresh election being communicated by Synodical letters, *just as* other Patriarchs were so named on similar occasions, but the prayers recited in the daily masses, only had reference to the Patriarchs in whose Dioceses the Churches were.

So also, in the Liturgy of S. Mark after a prayer for the Church Catholic, and another for the Sovereign, follows the bidding of the Deacon, "Pray ye for the Pope and Bishop." The Priest then says a prayer for the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Bishop, very similar in words to that already quoted from the Liturgy of S. Basil. And in the Anaphora or Canon itself, after the prayers for the

departed, a prayer almost in the same words is again afforded for "the most holy and blessed Pope N., whom Thou hast foreknown to govern Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and our most reverend Bishop N." Thus the Patriarch occupies in the Eastern Liturgies that very place of the fulness of honour which the Pope now holds in the Roman Canon. And what is more, this Liturgy expressly recognizes the co-ordinate authority of the Apostles, in the beautiful prayer, immediately succeeding that for the Pope of Alexandria, which is as follows:—

"O Sovereign Lord our God, who didst choose out the Twelve-branched Light of the Twelve Apostles, and didst send them forth to preach through the whole world, and to teach the Gospel of Thy kingdom, and to heal all disease and infirmity in the people, and Who didst breathe upon their faces and saidst to them, Receive the Holy Ghost the Comforter: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them: whose ye retain, they are retained: so too breathe on us Thy servants who stand round, at the beginning of our priestly service, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Readers, Singers and Laymen, with all the

fulness of the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." [Renaudot i. 123.]

Once more. In the Liturgy of S. James we find a prayer which acknowledges the Church of Jerusalem to be "the mother of all Churches," a title which we found ascribed to it by the Second Œcumenical Council [see p. 50 supra]. Thus the Priest bowing, says, "Wherefore we offer unto Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice for Thy holy places which Thou hast glorified by the manifestation of Christ, Thy Son; but especially for *holy Sion, the mother of all Churches*, and for Thy holy Church diffused through the whole world." [Renaudot ii. 33] what follows bears important testimony also on the point in hand:—

"The Deacon. 'Bless Sir. Let us pray and beseech our Lord God, at this moment of time great, fearful, and holy, for our fathers and rulers who are now set over us, and in the present life feed and rule the holy Churches of God, the venerable and blessed, the Lord N. our Patriarch, and the Lord N. Metropolitan, and the rest of the Metropolitans and venerable Bishops'" "The Priest. 'Grant them, O

Lord, the richest gifts of Thy Holy Spirit. Remember, O Lord, our holy Bishops who rightly dispense to us the word of truth, but especially *the Father of Fathers* our Patriarch, the Lord N. and the Lord N. our Bishop, with all other orthodox Bishops' " &c.

It is evident beyond doubt that these Liturgies set forth the Patriarch as within his Patriarchate the Head and Representative of the Catholic Church, and contain no allusion, expressed or implied, to the relation claimed for the Roman Pontiff towards the whole Church, as possessing in his person, the supreme rule over it. Their testimony is clear and decisive in favour of the Divine and co-equal authority of the universal Episcopate of the Church, but they knew literally nothing of the Papal Supremacy, which it is now pretended is the source of jurisdiction to that Episcopate. The utter absence of any recognition of such a Supremacy throughout the Liturgies of the Church, is therefore the strongest possible negative proof, that can be had, against the alleged antiquity and Catholicity of the Roman doctrine in question.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CATACOMBS.

The existence of subterranean excavations in Rome and its neighbourhood, commonly known by the name of Catacombs, has justly attracted much interest and research. Without entering into the question of their origin, we may accept the belief that the Catacombs were of Christian origin as well as of Christian use, and that they were excavated by the early Christians of Rome for the purpose of sepulture and secret worship in the Church's seasons of persecution and adversity. They ceased to be used for any such purpose from the fifth century, and there is sufficient evidence to establish their primitive antiquity, some of the gravestones bearing dates of different years in the beginning of the second century. The inscriptions, sculptures, and paintings which have been found in these vast receptacles for the Christian dead of so early a period, necessarily throw considerable light on questions of ecclesiastical antiquity in general, and we may reasonably expect that they may contribute evidence, of some sort at

least, to the particular question which has thus far been engaging our attention.

An attempt was made in an article of the Dublin Review, a few years ago, to claim a picture, among others representing Old Testament Scenes, in which Moses is shown as striking the rock and inscribed—*PETRUS*, as testifying to the Apostle S. Peter being the Chief and Head of the New Dispensation, as Moses was of the Old. A later writer Mr Northcote, in his interesting little volume, "The Roman Catacombs," states this matter thus: "We have already spoken of the pictures of Moses striking the rock; he is also often represented in the act of taking his shoe from off his foot, with a hand coming out of a cloud, as it were of God calling him up into the mountain; a scene which is understood by some only to teach a lesson of reverence in holy places, and of general docility and obedience whenever God speaks to us; whilst according to others, it is a symbolical foreshadowing of the Prince of the Apostles, called, like Moses, to receive the law, and to be its chief promulgator, judge, and interpreter. Without pretending absolutely to reject either of these opinions, we may observe that both

Christian writers and Christian artists of the first ages undoubtedly looked upon Moses as a type of Peter; that is to say, they considered that the position and privileges of S. Peter under the new law were somewhat analogous to those of Moses under the old. Hence he is called by Prudentius *dux novi Israel*—the leader of the new Israel. In one of the painted glasses found in the Catacombs, and which represents the scene of Moses striking the rock, the name of the person striking is distinctly inscribed, not Moses, but *Petrus*; and in several of the carved sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, to be seen in the museum of Christian Art at the Lateran palace, the same event is carved in bas-relief, not among the actions of Moses, but of Peter" [pp. 70, 71.] S. Macarius the Egyptian who lived about A. D. 330, makes indeed mention of the symbolical relation of S. Peter to Moses, in the following passage, which occurs in his Homilies: "For of old, Moses and Aaron when this priesthood was their's, suffered much; and Caiphas when he had their chair persecuted and condemned the Lord ... Afterwards Moses was succeeded by Peter, who had committed to his hands the New Church

of Christ and the true priesthood, “λοιπὸν Πέτρος Μωσία διεδέξατο τὴν καινὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐγγχειρισθείς.” [Hom. xxvi. p. 349]. But we are unable to admit that he meant to imply in these words, that S. Peter was invested with any such supremacy as is claimed by the Roman see in his name. S. Macarius sufficiently indicates in what sense he understood S. Peter to succeed Moses, by what he says in another passage, where he makes the Apostle to exercise the office of a *judge* by his *preaching* to the people of Israel, and a *new* and elect world to be formed by it. As the leading preacher at Pentecost, he stood out as the one entrusted with the office of founding the new Church of Christ, in the place of the old covenant. This is all that seems to have been S. Macarins’ meaning, and the idea that prompted the inscriptions in the Catacombs, cannot be made to require any thing more without further evidence. The passage in S. Macarius is also interesting, from its bearing on the general question of the equality of the twelve Apostles, and runs as follows: “What then is this, that Christ said, ‘Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel?’ This we find to

have been fulfilled on earth when the Lord was taken up into heaven. For He sent the Spirit Who is the comforter on *the twelve Apostles* and His holy power: Who coming tabernacled and took up His abode on the thrones of *their* minds. But because those that stood around said they were filled with new wine, Peter thereupon began to *judge* them, saying concerning Jesus, that 'He was a man mighty in word and in deed, Whom ye crucified hanging Him upon a tree.' And behold he there works wonders, breaks up the stones of sepulchres, and raises the dead. For it is written 'In the last days I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' Wherefore many *instructed* by Peter returned to penitence, that a world new and chosen of God should be made. You see then how the beginning of *judgment* appeared, for there appeared a new world. So *to them* [αὐτοῖς] was power given, of sitting in this world, and of judging." [Hom. vi. p. 91, 92.] Here S. Peter is certainly viewed as *representative* only of the rest of the Apostles, to whom as a body *equal* power of sitting and judging, for the renovation of the world, was imparted. What-

ever may be thought of S. Macarius' interpretation of our Lord's words, it is evident that S. Peter's *preaching* and the consequent gathering in of souls by which the Church was first formed, could alone constitute in his eyes the ground of relationship between the Apostle and Moses, as founders of their respective Dispensations. To build more upon his words, is simply gratuitous assumption, and more is not necessary to account for the representations in the Catacombs.

The Catacombs however afford evidence of another kind, which tells more against the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, than that which we have now considered can be made to tell in its favour. In the "Catacomb of Callistus," as it is called, "an ancient cemetery, which," as the Roman Breviary informs us, "he enlarged, and in which many holy priests and martyrs are buried," are seen the names of five Roman Bishops on separate slabs encrusted in the wall. They are as follow :—
"ANTEROS BISHOP, FABIANUS BISHOP AND MARTYR, CORNELIUS MARTYR BISHOP, LUCIUS, EUTYCHIANUS BISHOP." They were Bishops of Rome in the following order, Anteros A. D., 235, Fabianus A. D., 236, Cornelius A. D., 250,

Lucius A. D., 252, Eutychianus A. D., 275. An old Latin register of early Roman Bishops published by Ægidius Bucherius, specifies the *days* on which some of these Bishops died and were buried. In it we read, that Fabianus suffered on the 20th of January and was buried "in Callisti" i. e., in this Catacomb. And it is also stated that Lucius was buried "in Callisti" on the 5th March, and that Eutychianus was buried on the 8th December "in Callisti." These interesting coincidences between the records in the ancient register, and those now visible in the Catacombs, help to fix the early age of the latter, and we may safely believe that the inscriptions in the Catacombs are *contemporaneous* with the persons whom they record, which is the opinion of the distinguished Christian Archæologist Cavaliere De Rossi. Now it cannot but strike every one who considers these inscriptions, that they belong to an age when the pretensions of the Papacy were unknown. There is a primitive simplicity marking them. The Roman Bishops *then*, were simply *Bishops*, and were known *only as such*, without any dignity or higher title attaching to them, as occupants of their particular See. And this

is exactly what we find to have been the case in the extant writings of one of those, whose names are recorded in the Catacombs, "Cornelius Ep. martyr," who repeatedly uses such phrases as "Compresbyteri nostri," "Coepiscopi nostri," without any assumption of superior power over the fellow-Bishops and clergy of his time, whom he was addressing. The title of "PONTIFEX MAXIMUS" which now meets the eye every where in modern Rome ascribed to its Bishop, was one which his early predecessors had evidently no thought of appropriating, nor the Church of their age of bestowing.

Our task is now ended. The object in view has been simply to examine the Testimony of Catholic Antiquity on an historical question, with carefulness and impartiality. That question it is admitted, is one of great importance and vital interest, but its treatment cannot be different from that of other questions of equal or even greater importance, which from their very character postulate an historical basis. The Testimony of the Fathers, of the Councils, and of the Liturgies of the

Church, as well as of the Catacombs of Rome, has been successively brought under review, tested by historical methods, and ascertained to yield no support to the claims of the Roman See to supremacy over the whole Church. The system of the Catholic Church, as administered by the five great Patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, represented as a fact, the unity of the divine Episcopate founded by our Lord in the one body of His holy Apostles. This system continued unimpaired in the whole Church, at least to the time of the division of the East and West. It supplies an unanswerable refutation to what is too often allowed to have the strongest weight on the side of the Roman doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, that there could be no unity possible in the Church without it, as a living organized body. For history plainly reveals that there *was* unity, when the universal Church taught and acted in its divine capacity as one Body, with five co-ordinate Patriarchs and an Episcopate twice as numerous as that of the present Latin communion. Our own Church maintaining its prescriptive rights on the ground of the ancient Canon, and possessing an historical life

co-eval almost with that of the Roman Church, enters into that system as an integral part of it. How this system became superseded by another, which grew up under the shadow of a vast forgery, now acknowledged to be such under the name of the "False Decretals," which was imposed on Western Christendom for 700 years, and unrepealed reference to which in the Catechism of the Council of Trent to this very day, commits the Roman Church to the maintenance of exploded error—is what belongs to the history of the Papacy as such, and lies beyond the purpose of the present treatise. Let no false theory of Church unity, however fascinating, be allowed therefore to blind our eyes to the facts of history. We can justify our position by them, and from them we may learn what will be that true unity of the Church, which its Great Head will, in His own time and way, mercifully restore to it, when having purified all its branches from the errors and sins they are now labouring under, His Church shall again "look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

APPENDIX.

The recent refusal of the Patriarch of Constantinople to receive the Pope's letter of invitation to the Eastern Church, to attend the Council convoked to be held at Rome, on the express ground that if he accepted it, he would have answered it as his predecessor did under similar circumstances in 1848, imparts a fresh interest to that document. We therefore here append the following extracts from an 'Encyclic Letter of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the Universal Orthodox ; printed in 1848 at the Patriarchal Press in Constantinople.' This Encyclic Letter is subscribed by the *four* Orthodox Patriarchs—*Anthimus* of CONSTANTINOPLE, *Hierotheus* of ALEXANDRIA, *Methodius* of ANTIOCH (since deceased), *Cyrillus* of JERUSALEM—and by their respective Synods. It was written in reply to a 'Letter of our Most Holy Father Pius IX., by Divine permission Pope, to the Easterns,' given at Rome on the 6th of January in the same year, and done into most barbarous modern Greek ; professedly for the benefit of the Pope's Oriental children, but with a further view, scarcely dissembled, to advance his cause among the adherents of the ancient Churches in those parts.

The Encyclic Letter, commences with 'brotherly salutation in the Holy Ghost, and all blessing and salvation from God to all holy Bishops everywhere, our dearly beloved in the Holy Ghost, and

to their most pious Clergy, and to all the genuine orthodox children of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.'

Sec. 1. sets forth that, the evangelical message of redemption should be preached without adulteration, and holily believed, in accordance with the revelation of our Saviour, the testimony of his Apostles, and the traditions of the Holy Fathers in their individual and synodical teaching; but the Prince of Evil, that spiritual enemy of man's salvation, as formerly in Eden, craftily assuming the pretext of profitable counsel, he made man to become a transgressor of the divinely-spoken command; so in the spiritual Eden, the Church of God, he has from time to time beguiled many; and, mixing the deleterious drugs of heresy with the clear streams of orthodox doctrine, gives it to drink to divers who live unguardedly, not giving diligent heed to the things that they have heard (*Heb. ii. 10*), and to what they have been told by their fathers (*Deut. xxxii. 7*), in accordance with the Gospel, and in agreement with the perpetual consent of ancient doctors.

'2. Hence have arisen manifold and monstrous heresies; which the Catholic Church, even from her infancy, has been forced to combat with the panoply of God, and 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God;' and has triumphed over all unto this day, and will triumph to the end, ever shining forth brighter and stronger after the struggle.'

'3. Of these heresies some have altogether perished, some are in their decline, but others flourish more or less, until the time of their over-

throw ; when, being struck with the lightning of the anathema of the seven Œcumenical Synods, they become extinct, even though they last for a thousand years ; for the orthodoxy of the Catholic Apostolic Church, as inspired by the living Word of God, alone endures for ever, according to the infallible promise of our Lord,—‘The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.’—*S. Matt.* xviii. 18.

‘4. Of these heresies widely-diffused was formerly Arianism, and now is the Papacy, which, though still flourishing, shall, like the former, pass away and be cast down, and a great voice from Heaven shall cry, ‘it is cast down.’ *Rev.* xii. 10.’

Sec. 5. is devoted to a full examination of ‘the novel doctrine’ of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son ; and Holy Scripture, Fathers, and Councils are cited, under 14 heads, in proof of the heterodoxy of the Roman Church on this point.

Sec. 6. contains a brief historical sketch of the introduction and progress of this doctrine until its final establishment in the West, together with other ‘novelties,’ such as the assumption of monarchical power by the Popes, their monopoly of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and their attempts to draw away the other four Patriarchs to their apostasy from orthodoxy, so as to enslave the Catholic Church to the wills and ordinances of men.

‘7. Our then renowned predecessors and fathers, with united labour and counsel, seeing our ancestral evangelical teaching trodden under foot, and the robe of our Saviour, woven from the top throughout, torn with unholy hands—pierced with paternal and brotherly affection—wept indeed over the loss of so many Christians, ‘for whom Christ died,’ and applied much earnest zeal and emula-

tion, synodically and individually, in order that the orthodox teaching being saved, they might, so far as they were able, sew together that which had been rent asunder ; and like skilful physicians they consulted together for the safety of the suffering member ; enduring many tribulations, and contempts, and persecutions, only in order that the body of Christ might not be dismembered, only in order that the fences of the divine and venerable Synods might not be trodden down. But faithful history has handed down to us the relentless perseverance of the West in error, and these distinguished men proved indeed the truth of the words of the Holy Father Basil, speaking from experience even at that time concerning the Bps. of the West, and the Pope in particular ; 'These men know not the truth, nor endure to learn it, but strive against those who preach to them the truth, and of themselves give fresh proof of their heresy,' (to Eusebius of Samosata); and thus after a first and second brotherly admonition, convinced of their impenitence, they gave them over to their reprobate mind (for 'war is better than peace without God,' as said our Holy Father Gregory concerning the Arians). From that time forward there has been no spiritual communion between us and them ; for they have with their own hands dug deep the gulf between themselves and orthodoxy.

'8. But the Papacy did not on this account cease to annoy the quiet Church of God ; but sending forth its missionaries everywhere, 'compasses sea and land to make one proselyte,' to adulterate by additions the divine Symbol of our holy faith, to prove baptism superfluous, the communion of the cup unprofitable, and a thousand

other things which the Demon of Novelty has dictated to the all-daring schoolmen of the middle ages, and to the Bps. of the *elder* Rome, venturing all things for lust of power. Our most blessed predecessors and Fathers, though insulted and persecuted in divers ways from within and from without, contended earnestly that they might save and deliver to us that inestimable inheritance of our Fathers, which we also, by God's help, will transmit as a precious treasure to succeeding generations, even to the end of the world.

'9. For some time the attacks of the Popes in their own persons had ceased, and were conducted only by means of missionaries; but lately he who succeeded to the See of Rome in 1847, under the title of Pope Pius IX., published on the 6th of January in this present year, an Encyclical Letter addressed to the Easterns, which his emissary has scattered abroad within our orthodox fold, like a plague coming from without. In this circular he addresses those who have at various times apostatised from the several Christian communities, and deserted to the Papacy; and citing by name our divine and holy Fathers, he manifestly calumniates both them and us their successors and descendants; *them*, as though they had admitted the Papal injunctions without enquiry, and recognised the Popes as arbitrators of the Catholic Church; *us*, as unfaithful to their examples, and consequently severed from our Fathers, regardless of our sacred duties, and of the salvation of the souls entrusted to us by God.

'10. Every one of our brethren and children in Christ clearly perceives that the words of the present Bp. of Rome, like those of his anti-

synodical predecessors, are not words of peace and compassion, as he says, but of deceit and quibbling, tending to self-aggrandizement ; but the orthodox will not be beguiled therewith, for the Word of the Lord is sure—‘ A stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of strangers.’

‘ 11. For all this, we have thought it our paternal and brotherly requirement, and sacred duty, by these present letters, to confirm you in the orthodoxy which ye hold from your ancestors, and at the same time, to expose by the way the unsoundness of the syllogisms of the Bp. of Rome, of which he himself is manifestly aware ; for he does not pride himself on his throne, on account of his apostolical confession ; but earnestly endeavors to establish his dignity from the Apostolical throne, and his confession from his dignity.

‘ The Church of Rome founds its claim to be the throne of S. Peter, only on one single tradition, while Holy Scripture, Fathers, and Councils, attest, that this dignity belongs to Antioch ; which, however, never on this account claimed exemption from the judgment of Holy Scripture and Synodical decrees : and even S. Peter himself was judged before all ‘ by the truth of the Gospel,’ and was ‘ found worthy of blame,’ as ‘ not walking uprightly.’ (*Gal. ii. 11-14.*)

‘ Our Holy Fathers themselves, whom his Holiness, justly admiring as enlighteners and teachers of the West itself, reckons to us, and counsels us to follow, teach us not to judge of orthodoxy from the holy throne, but of the throne itself, and of him who sits on the throne, by the Divine Scriptures, by the Synodical decisions and decrees, and by the

faith that has been preached, that is, by the orthodoxy that has ever been taught. Thus our Fathers synodically judged and condemned Honorius, Pope of Rome; Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria; Macedonius and Nestorius Patriarchs of Constantinople; and Peter Gnapheus, Patriarch of Antioch, &c.; for if 'the very abomination of desolation stood in the holy place,' according to the witness of Holy Scripture, why should not novelty and heresy sit upon a holy throne? And hence is obtained a general view of the weakness and feebleness of the other endeavors to establish the despotism of the Bp. of Rome; for if the Church of Christ had not been founded on the immovable rock of the confession of Peter (which was a common answer on behalf of the Apostles, when asked, 'Whom do ye say that I am?') viz., 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' as the divine Fathers of the East and West have expounded to us, it would still have been founded on a sure foundation, viz., on Cephas himself, but not at all on the Pope, who, after monopolizing the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven—how he has administered them is manifest from history. But our Divine Fathers universally, and with one consent, teach that the thrice repeated command, 'Feed my sheep,' conferred no privilege on S. Peter above the rest of the Apostles—least of all, on his successors also; but was simply a restoration of him to his Apostleship—from which he had fallen by his thrice-repeated denial. And the blessed Peter himself appears thus to have understood the intention of our Lord's thrice-repeated enquiry, 'Lovest thou me?' and 'more than these:' for calling to mind the words, 'Though all shall be offended because of thee, yet will I not be

offended,' he was grieved because he said unto him the third time, 'Lovest thou me?'

'12. But his Holiness says, that our Lord said to Peter, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.' Our Lord so prayed, because Satan had asked that he might subvert the faith of all the disciples; but our Lord allowed him Peter alone; chiefly on this account, because he had uttered words of self-confidence, and justified himself above the others, 'Though all be offended because of thee, yet will I not be offended.' Yet this permission was only granted for a time: 'He began to curse and swear, saying I know not the man.' So weak is human nature when left to itself! 'The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.' For a time, we say, in order that, when he again came to himself, by his conversion, and his repentance with tears, he might the more strengthen his brethren, since they had neither perjured themselves nor denied.

'We trust that the divine love so earnestly commended to us by our common Master in that sacred supper of the last night, which the Popes were the first to violate by their heretical novelties, and that His prayer for the Unity of His One Catholic and Apostolic Church, may become effectual in taking away the middle-wall of partition, and in bringing back the wandering sheep to the Fold, even in these days.

'Let it be said then, in the *third* place, that if it be supposed, according to the words of his Holiness, that this prayer of our Lord for Peter, when about to deny and perjure himself, remained attached and united to the throne of Peter, and is transmitted

with power to those who from time to time sit on it, although as has before been said, nothing contributes to confirm the opinion (as we are strikingly assured from the example of the blessed Peter himself, even after the descent of the Holy Ghost); yet are we convinced from the words of our Lord, that the time will come when that divine prayer concerning the denial of Peter 'that his faith might not fail for ever' will operate also in some one of the successors of his throne, who will also '*weep*,' as he did '*bitterly*,' and being some time *converted* will *strengthen* us, his *brethren*, still more in the orthodox confession, which we hold from our forefathers;—and would that his Holiness might be this true successor of the blessed S. Peter!

'13. His Holiness says that the Bp, of Lyons, the holy Irenæus, writes in praise of the Roman Church:—'It is fitting that the whole Church—that is, all the faithful everywhere, come together because of the precedency in this Church, in which in all things has been preserved by all the faithful, the tradition delivered by the Apostles.' Although this Saint speaks altogether wide of the aim of the disciples of the Vatican, yet let them be permitted to translate and interpret him according to their pleasure; but we say, who doubts that the old Roman Church was Apostolic and orthodox? Certainly no one of us will hesitate to say that it was a model of orthodoxy. We, in particular, will add for its greater praise, from the historian Sozomen, after what manner it was able for a while to maintain its orthodoxy, which we praise;—a passage which his Holiness has overlooked: 'For as was the case everywhere, the Church throughout all the West, *being directed purely according to the doc-*

trines of the Fathers, was delivered from contention and from trickery concerning these things.' Would any one of the Fathers or ourselves deny her canonical prerogatives in the order of the hierarchy, so long as she was governed purely according to the doctrines of the Fathers, walking by the unerring canon of Scripture and the Holy Synods ? But at the present time, we do not find either the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, according to the Creed of the Holy Fathers assembled in Nicæa first, and in Constantinople afterwards, which the remaining *five* Œcumenical Synods confessed and confirmed, and subjected to so many anathemas those who should adulterate it in the slightest particular, as altogether destroying it ; nor the Apostolic pattern of divine baptism, nor the invocation of the consecrating Spirit on the holy elements ; but we see in it the divine cup taken away as superfluous, and many other things unknown not only to our Holy Fathers, but to the holy ancient Fathers of the West, as was also that very Supremacy for which now his Holiness wrestles with all his powers, as did his predecessors, transformed from the brotherly pattern and hierarchical prerogative to Lordship. What then is to be thought concerning his unwritten tradition, if the written have undergone such a change, and such a deterioration ? or, who is so bold and confident of the dignity of the apostolic throne as to dare to say, that if our Holy Father Irenæus were to live again, he seeing it failing of the ancient and primitive Apostolic teaching on so many most essential and Catholic articles of Christianity, would not himself be the first to oppose the novelties and self-sufficient determination of the Roman Church, then justly celebrated by him as

directed purely according to the doctrines of the Fathers? For example, when he heard of the vicarial and appellate jurisdiction of the Pope, what would he not say, who, in a small and almost indifferent question, respecting the celebration of Easter, so nobly and triumphantly opposed and extinguished the violence of Pope Victor in the Free Church of Christ? Thus he who is adduced by his Holiness as a witness of the supremacy of the Roman Church, proves that its dignity is not that of monarchy, nor even of arbitration, which the blessed Peter himself even never possessed; but a brotherly prerogative in the Catholic Church and an honour enjoyed by the Popes on account of the celebrity and prerogative of the city, as also the *fourth* Ecumenical Synod declared concerning the observance of the precedency of the Churches determined by the *third* Ecumenical Synod following the *second*, and that again the *first*, which calls the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope over the West *a custom*; 'on account of that city being the imperial city, the Fathers have, with reason, given it the prerogatives;' saying nothing of its especial apostolic emanation from Peter, and least of all, of the Vicarship of its Bishops and a universal Bishopric. But the deep silence as to such great privileges; and not only so, but the cause assigned for their precedency—not on account of 'feed my sheep,' nor on account of 'upon this rock I will build my Church,' but simply on account of *the custom*, and *on account of that city being the Imperial City*—and that *not* from the Lord, but *from the Fathers*—will appear, we are persuaded, so much the more strange to his Holiness (however otherwise he may count of his prerogatives), as he, we perceive, highly values the

testimony of the above named Fourth Œcumenical Synod, which he thinks he has found in favour of his throne : and the Divine Gregory, who is called the Great, was accustomed to speak of the *four* Œcumenical Synods as the *Four* Gospels, and the square stone upon which the Catholic Church is built.

‘14. His Holiness says that the Corinthians differing among themselves, made reference to Clement, Pope of Rome, who wrote them his judgment of the matter ; but they so prized his answer that they even read it in their Churches. But this event is an exceedingly weak confirmation of the Papal power in the house of God ; for then, when Rome was the centre of the Government, and the principal city, in which the emperors dwelt, it was proper that any question of importance, as history declares that of the Corinthians’ was, should be decided there ; as it happens even to this day, when the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem meet with unexpected difficulties, hard to be solved, they write to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, on account of its being the imperial seat, as also on account of its Synodical privileges ; but this brotherly assistance and co-operation is not to be stretched to the subjugation of the Church of God.

‘15. But, last of all, his Holiness says that the Fourth Œcumenical Synod (which, by mistake, he altogether transfers from Chalcedon to Carthage), having read the Epistle of Pope Leo, cried out, ‘Peter has spoken thus by Leo.’ The fact is as here stated ; but his Holiness ought not to overlook after what manner, and after what pains our Fathers cried out, as they did, in praise of Leo ;

since he, however, studying brevity, as it seems, has omitted this most necessary particular, and the manifest proof that an Œcumenical Synod is greatly superior, not only to the Pope, but to his Synod also, we will explain to all the transaction as it really occurred. Of more than 600 Bishops assembled in the Synod of Chalcedon, about 200 of the most learned of them were appointed by the Synod to examine the letter and the sense of the said Epistle of Leo: and not only so, but to deliver in writing, and with their signatures, their individual judgment of it, whether it were orthodox or no. These, about 200 distinct judgments and resolutions on the epistle, are found principally in the Fourth Session of the said Holy Synod in such terms as the following:—

‘MAXIMUS of *Antioch* said:—‘The epistle of Leo, the Holy Archbishop of Imperial Rome, agrees with the decisions of the 318 Holy Fathers in Nicæa, and the 150 in Constantinople, the *new* Rome, and with the faith expounded by the Most Holy Bishop Cyril in Ephesus, and I have subscribed it.’

‘And again—THEODORET, the most pious Bishop of *Cyprus*—‘The epistle of the most Holy Archbishop, the Lord Leo, agrees with the faith as set forth by the blessed and Holy Fathers in Nicæa, and with the symbol of the faith published by the 150 in Constantinople, and with the epistle of the most blessed Cyril; and I have subscribed the above-mentioned epistle in token of my acceptance of it.’ And thus, all one after another,—‘the epistle agrees,’—‘the epistle is consonant,’—‘the epistle is concordant in meaning,’ &c. After so much and so careful an examination and comparison with the former Holy Synods, and the full conviction of the correctness of

its meaning, and not simply because it was the epistle of the Pope ; they cried out, without grudging, that exclamation on which his Holiness boastfully vaunts himself. But if his Holiness had sent us statements concordant and agreeing with those of the *seven* first Œcumenical Synods, instead of boasting of the piety of his predecessors, proclaimed by our predecessors and Fathers in an Œcumenical Synod, he might have justly boasted of his own orthodoxy, proclaiming his own goodness, instead of that of his Fathers ; so that, if his Holiness will send us such statements as 200 Fathers, having examined and discussed, shall find to be accordant and agreeable to the above-named early Synods, he shall hear from us sinners, at this day, not only 'Peter thus spake,' but another honourable expression, viz.—Blessed be the hand that has wiped away the tears of the Catholic Church !

'16. And verily it were meet that so great a work should be undertaken by the care of his Holiness—a work worthy of the genuine successor of the blessed Peter, of Leo the First, and Leo the Third, who, for the preservation of the orthodox faith, engraved the divine Symbol free from novelties upon invincible shields,—a work which shall unite the Churches of the West to the Holy Catholic Church.

The remaining sections are devoted to the examination of some of the *obiter dicta* of the Pope's letter, and to exhortations to their beloved children, to stand fast in the truth taught by the mouth of the Lord in the Gospel, witnessed to by the Holy Apostles, and by the Seven Holy Œcumenical Councils. [From the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, of January 1851, p. 3—5.]



ERRATA.

Page 3, line 22 which, *dele.*

„ 161, „ 16 *for* the Diocese, *read* Rome.

„ 164, „ 2 *for* afforded, *read* offered.

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